THE DIARY OF
HENRY TEONGE

Chaplain on Board H. M.'s Ships *Assistance, Bristol* and *Royal Oak*
1675—1679

Transcribed from the original manuscript and edited with an Introduction and Notes by *G. E. Manwaring*

"Teonge was a Pepysian parson. His realistic descriptions of life in the old Navy are as illuminating as Smollett's, his cheerfulness and gusto equal those of his eighteenth-century brother-of-the-cloth, the Rev. Mr. Woodforde. This diary is history: and more can be learnt of actual life under Charles II than from many able academic books. The people in such diaries are men. Reading such a diary as Teonge's, we feel as we do when reading Shakespeare's plays, that here are ourselves though set in unfamiliar surroundings."

—J. C. SQUIRE, Editor of the *London Mercury.*

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HENRY TEONGE

DIARY

1675-1679

BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER

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OF PERO TAFUR, 1435–1439

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THE DIARY OF HENRY TEONGE, 1675–1679

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VOYAGES OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT

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FRANCESCO CARLETTI, 1594–1602

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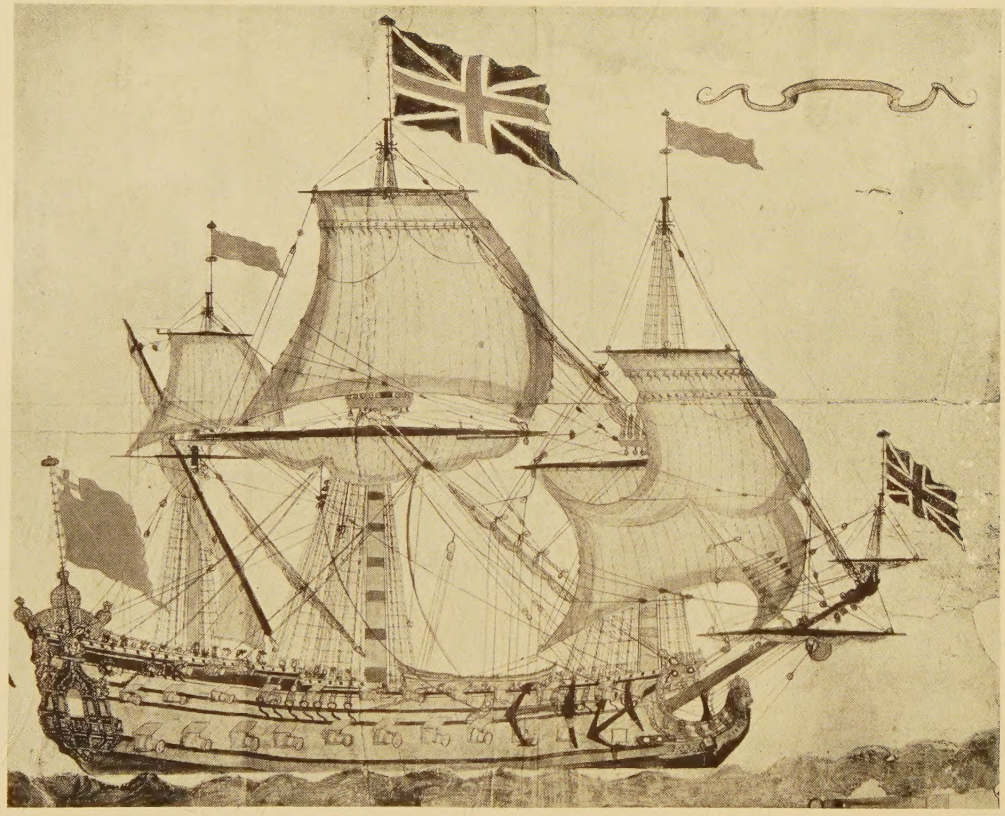

H.M.S. ASSISTANCE

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER

THE DIARY OF HENRY TEONGE

CHAPLAIN ON BOARD H.M.'s SHIPS
ASSISTANCE, BRISTOL, AND ROYAL OAK
1675-1679

Transcribed from the original manuscript and edited with an Introduction and Notes by G. E. Manwaring

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PREFACE

Teonge's Diary is now printed in full for the first time from the original manuscript. The edition of 1825, besides omitting several passages, contained many faulty transcriptions, and frequent interpolations, which were not recorded as such. A few words regarding the editorial method employed in this edition are necessary. Throughout the Diary, Teonge invariably wrote "on" for "one", and his spelling, which was often erratic and inconsistent, has been modernised, and the contractions extended. Any word which possesses a philological value on account of its early use or quaint spelling has been preserved in a note. In cases where it has been considered necessary to insert a word in order to complete the sense, such insertions have been indicated by square brackets [ ].

In preparing this edition my sincere thanks are due to many friends. Among others, I am specially indebted to Mr W. Asheton Tonge, for kindly placing the original manuscript at my disposal, and for his courtesy in allowing me to transcribe it in full; Mrs Narbrough Hughes D'Aeth, for granting me permission to photograph the unique and beautiful painting of Admiral Sir John Narbrough in her possession, which has never been reproduced before;

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Mr R. C. Anderson, F.S.A., whose intimate knowledge of ships of the period has enabled me to reproduce illustrations of the *Assistance*, *Bristol*, and *Royal Oak*, which, as far as I am aware, have never previously appeared in any book or periodical, that of the *Royal Oak* being from a Van de Velde drawing in the possession of Mr Anderson; Mr R. J. Beevor for kindly furnishing me with a copy of Teonge's will; Mr H. S. Vaughan whose knowledge of the Mediterranean has been invaluable; and Mr W. S. Stallybrass, for the interest he has taken in the preparation of this book, and for his helpful criticism and suggestions. For the elucidation of many obscure points, and aid in reading the proofs, my thanks are due to Dr C. T. Hagberg Wright of the London Library, and Mr W. G. Perrin, O.B.E., the Admiralty Librarian.

In conclusion may I express the hope that in some ancestral chest there may yet be found another volume of Teonge's "Diary", which will portray for us with the same meticulous care and industry the life and habits of the people in his Warwickshire homeland.

G. E. Manwaring.

INTRODUCTION

I ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The vicissitudes of the manuscript of Teonge's Diary, like that of many other manuscripts, are not without interest. It was first published by Charles Knight in 1825, and in an introduction to that edition it was stated that the manuscript had been "in the possession of a respectable Warwickshire family for more than a century," and that "it had descended as part of an old library from one generation to another, without attracting any particular observation." For many years after its publication the manuscript seems to have disappeared, and in consequence it is not surprising that the authenticity of the Diary as published in 1825 should have been questioned. A writer in the *Mariner's Mirror* opened an interesting discussion on the subject in 1912. He pointed out that the Diary was not published until almost a century and a half after it was written, and "that the original manuscript is either not now in existence, or at least that its whereabouts is unknown." "The objections," he wrote, "seem to be two in number: First, that there is no record of the original manuscript; second, that the book

contains nothing that a clever forger could not have imagined."[1] It is only fair to add that the writer apparently did not share these views. Another correspondent in the same journal, however, fastened on the idea of "a clever forger," and went to some pains to prove that such a forger in the person of William Henry Ireland, the author of the Shakespeare forgeries of 1795, was at the time of the publication of Teonge's Diary in 1825, enjoying the friendship and hospitality of the publisher, Charles Knight.[2] This drew forth a spirited reply from the author of the article on Teonge in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (the late Sir John Laughton), who stated that he personally had "never felt the slightest doubt as to the genuineness of the printed copy," adding, that "in or about 1887," it was seen "on board the *Alexandra*, where it had been sent to be shown to the Duke of Edinburgh."[3] This prompted a further search, and in the pay-book of the *Assistance* the name of "Hen: Tongue, Minister," was found, and also a receipt signed by the chaplain for his groats:— "Recv$^{d.}$ for my 4$^{ds.}$ lvii$^{li.}$"[4] This with other information was published in the *Mariner's Mirror* by Mr W. G. Perrin, and although it proved the authenticity of the Diary, the existence of the manuscript was still uncertain. Since then, however, the manuscript has reappeared, and it is now possible to trace its descent. It is a small quarto volume, consisting of ninety-three

[1] *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 2, p. 181. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 216–17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 251. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 258; see also vol. 3, pp. 143–6.

leaves,[1] and written in a neat hand throughout. From internal evidence, it can be definitely stated that it was written up by Teonge from a rough diary kept on board ship—the account of his first voyage being compiled during the period between the 17th November, 1676 (when he left the *Assistance* at Deptford), and the 25th July, 1678, when he left the Downs for his second voyage to the Mediterranean. After Teonge's death in 1690, the manuscript evidently came into the possession of John Holyoake, whose signature is on the last page of the Diary. This John Holyoake is presumably the same person who was Mayor of Warwick (1699–1700), whose family owned considerable landed property in Warwickshire, and whose uncle, also John Holyoake, was possessed of an estate in Spernall, Teonge's parish. Prior to coming into the possession of Charles Knight the publisher in 1824 or 1825, it was owned by Simon Walker of Birmingham, whose signature appears no less than five times in the manuscript, with the date 1823.

In 1886 the manuscript was acquired by Charles John Shoppee, F.R.I.B.A., "citizen and armourer of London," whose bookplate it bears. On his decease in November, 1897, his extensive library passed into the possession of his son, C. H. Shoppee, F.R.I.B.A., and on the death of the latter the books and manuscripts were sold at Sotheby's in 1918, the manuscript of Teonge's Diary being among them.

[1] The first and last leaves are missing. The first was presumably the title-page; the last a list of the builders and places of the fourth-rate ships in the Royal Navy.

It was then purchased by a well-known London bookseller, and finally came into the possession of Mr William Asheton Tonge, the present owner.

II SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE

SITUATED in the heart of Shakespeare's country, about five miles north of Stratford-on-Avon, lies the pleasant village of Wolverton. Here at the beginning of the seventeenth century a branch of the Teonge family settled, from whom Henry Teonge[1] the diarist is descended. Of the family at this period we know very little, with the exception that Henry was the son of George Teonge (rector of Wolverton, 1619–62) and his wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Nicholls, of Southam, County Warwick. Even the precise date of the diarist's birth is uncertain. According to his own statement he was born on the 18th March, 1621, but from another source it would appear that he was born at Wolverton in 1623.[2] At an early age he was sent to Warwick School, where he received his education under Thomas Dugard, the master who received Charles I with an "oracion" when he visited Warwick, 19th August, 1636. From Warwick School he was admitted sizar of Christ's College,

[1] Teonge has been confused in the past with Henry Tonge, who matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1615, and became vicar of Sleaford, 1648.

[2] The earliest register at Wolverton dates from 1680, and the Bishop's transcripts in the Diocesan Registry at Worcester are unfortunately missing for 1621 and 1623. A sister, Joan, was baptised at Wolverton, 7 June, 1622.

Cambridge, 28th June, 1639, being then, according to the college records, age sixteen.[1] After a residence of four years he received his degree of B.A., 1643. Between 1648 and 1654 he was appointed rector of Alcester, a small parish adjoining Spernall, in his native county. It was during this period that he married his first wife, Jane, and of this marriage there were three sons, George, Thomas, and Henry (the latter being born at Alcester in 1654), and a daughter, Mary, who afterwards became Mrs Guilbert.

The poverty of the living and the growing needs of a young family severely taxed the resources of the diarist, and one son at least, Henry, was "taught at home by his father," before being admitted pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, on the 23rd June, 1670.[2]

On the 7th June, 1670, Teonge was instituted to the living of Spernall, a small village consisting then of eighteen houses and sixty-five inhabitants. At this period he still retained the living of Alcester,[3] which he appears to have vacated early in 1675. In this year, when the Diary commences, Teonge's financial embarrassments forced him to leave his Warwickshire home. On the 20th May, habited in very attenuated garments, and mounted on a still more attenuated steed, Teonge left Spernall for London to seek service in the navy of Charles II. On arrival he immediately obtained a commission as Chaplain "to his Majesty

[1] Peile, *Biog. Register of Christ's College*, i, 462.

[2] Peile, *Biog. Register of Christ's College*, ii, 30.

[3] The value of the living then was £30 a year.

in his Frigate *Assistance* of 56 guns." How he obtained the appointment we do not know, but we find him entered in the pay-book of the ship on the 25th May, 1675, the day on which he reached London.

The *Assistance*, commanded by Captain William Houlding, sailed from the Thames on the 1st June to reinforce Sir John Narbrough's squadron which had been dispatched some weeks earlier on an expedition against the Barbary States. Teonge's first voyage lasted till the 17th November, 1676, at which date the *Assistance* was paid off at Deptford. The events of this period are fully chronicled in the Diary, and Teonge's narrative of the daily proceedings of the expedition possesses considerable historical value.

On returning to England Teonge stayed in London about " 3 quarters of a year," in the hope of obtaining another commission, returning to his home at Spernall about June, 1677. The seclusion of a country parsonage, however, offered him little solace, and it was not long before he found that the call of the sea was preferable to the calls of his creditors. He candidly informs us that " though I was glad to see my relations and old acquaintance, yet I lived very uneasy, being daily dunned by some or other, or else for fear of land pirates, which I hated worse than Turks." Fortunately relief was at hand, and on the 18th March, 1678, he received a " long expected letter " from Captain Anthony Langston to come up to London. Accordingly on Easter Sunday, after administering the Sacrament to his parishioners at Spernall, Teonge, mounted on his favourite steed (with his wife riding pillion), set

out for Warwick. Here he bade adieu to his wife, and left in a "coach-waggon" for London, accompanied by his son Thomas. Three days later he reached London, but disappointment was in store. Although he had engaged himself as Chaplain to Captain Langston of the *Bristol*, he found on arrival that another chaplain had "gotten the king's warrant for his ship," and it was not without considerable difficulty and delay, and an amusing adventure with the Bishop of London at "Fullum," that he finally procured a warrant for himself.

Before sailing on his second voyage, Teonge visited Whitehall in company with Captain Langston, and he records with the pardonable pride of an old Cavalier, a chance meeting with the King, to whom he was presented. In his second voyage Teonge had hopes of a voyage to Virginia, but after cruising about in home waters for some time, his ship with others was suddenly ordered to the Straits on the 25th July, much to the disgust of Teonge and his shipmates. Contrary winds, sickness, and accidents delayed the departure of the squadron for nearly three months, and it was not until October 25th that Teonge recorded with gratification the passing of the Lizard Point "with as fair a gale as can be desired." The winter was passed in cruising between the Straits and Minorca, and on the 16th January, 1679, Teonge with his Captain was transferred to the *Royal Oak*.[1] Two months later his good

[1] He is entered in the pay-book of the ship, on the following day, the 17th, as "Henry Tongue, Minister." [P.R.O. Ships' Pay Books, 102.]

friend, Captain Langston, died in Alicante Roads, and Teonge, who had "stood by his bedside when he breathed his last," composed his epitaph. Three days after this melancholy event the *Royal Oak* was under sail for England, arriving in the Downs at the end of May. Sickness and death had played havoc among her crew; sixty had been buried at sea, and thirty-two were now put ashore.

After a few days at Rochester to "view the Castle, College, and other places," Teonge arrived in London on the 28th June in the hope of being paid-off. Here he met with considerable delay, and it was not until after Michaelmas that he was able to record in his diary that he "came safe home again to Spernall, Deo Gratias."

This was his last voyage, and little is known of his subsequent career. At the beginning of March, 1682, he took over for a few months the neighbouring living of Coughton on the death of his son Henry,[1] who had been rector there since 1675, and who had officiated at Spernall during his father's absence in the Mediterranean. This loss was followed by the death of his wife, Jane, who was also buried at Coughton on the 9th March, 1682.

Bereft of his wife and favourite son, it is not surprising that Teonge should have sought a companion for his declining years. Four years later, on the 21st October, 1686, he married at Spernall as his second

[1] On a stone in the church at Coughton was this inscription: "Here lyeth the body of Mr H. Teong Vicar of this parish who deceased March 5. 1681–[2]." (Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii, 755.)

wife, Penelope Hunt, and it is to be hoped that his happiness was not marred by the too persistent demands of his creditors. He died, as he had lived, a comparatively poor man, and a simple entry in the registers of the 21st March, 1690, records the burial of "Mr Henry Tong, late Rector of Spernall."

His will, drawn up a few months before his death, is here printed in full from the original in the Diocesan registry. The inventory attached to it, is a most interesting and human document, and enables us to form an excellent idea of the homely character of a country parsonage (with its glebe and barn) in the seventeenth century—such a one as the poet George Herbert has portrayed for us in his *Country Parson*, first published in 1652.

In the name of God Amen. I, Henry Teonge of Spernall in the County of Warwick Clerke being weak in body but of sound mind & memory praised be God doe make my last will & testament in manner & forme following. Ffirst & principally I commend my soule unto Almighty God my Creator y^t^ gave it Trusting by the meritorious death & passion of my Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ to receive full pardon & free remission of all my sinns and my body to the earth from whence it came decently to be buried at the discretion of my Executrix hereinafter named. And as to the worldly estate it hath pleased God to bestow upon me after my just debts & funerall expences discharged I dispose thereof as followes :—Imp^r^. I give unto my sonnes George Teonge & Thomas Teonge & to my Daughter Mary Guilbert twelve pence a peece and whereas I have by certeine articles indented beareing date the twentieth day of October Anno Dn^i^ 1686 before the tyme of my intermariage wth Penelope my now Wife Articled covenanted & agreed wth John Vernon of Henly in Arden in the sd. County of Warwick Gent. & Thomas

Chambers of Tanworth in the s^d County of Warwick Yeoman to settle upon them by my last Will the sum of One hundred pounds in moneys or in case I shall not be worth soe much at the tyme of my decease soe much goods cattle & chattles as shall amount thereunto (my wife to have the interest thereof during her naturall life and after her decease to be equally divided between or amongst such children as should be begotten betwixt us or in case but of one childe wholly to remaine to such childe but in case of noe childe liveing then to remaine to Penelope my sd. wife as by the sd. Articles more at large appeareth. Now therefore in p'suance & p'formance of the sd. Articles (there being as yett noe childe betwixt me the sd. Henry & the said Penelope) and I haveing noe such sume of money as is above recited I doe therefore give devise & bequeath all my cattle horses sheep ready money plate & p'sonall estate w'soever unto the sd. Penelope my sd. wife. Neverthelesse under this provisoe or condicon that if it shall happen my sd. wife shall be enceint wth childe at the tyme of my decease & such childe shall happen to live Then my Will & meaning is that the sd. Penelope my sd. wife shall imediately depositt upon the birth of the sd. childe into the hands of the above recited John Vernon & Thomas Chambers their executors or admors the sd. recited sume of One hundred pounds or soe much thereof as can be raised out of my sd p'sonall estate. In trust that they or one of them shall sett the same to interest and pay the interest thereof halfe yearely as the same shall become due unto the sd. Penelope my sd. wife during her naturall life for & t'wards her maintenance and after her decease I give the sd. One hundred pounds or soe much thereof as shall bee soe raised aforesd unto such child or children as shall be soe borne after my decease. But in case there shall be noe such child borne or if such childe be borne & shall dye before my sd. wife (unmarried & not of age of one & twenty yeares) Then I do hereby give & devise all my sd. p'sonall estate whatsoever unto Penelope my sd. wife without any condicon or reservacon whatsoever and I doe alsoe nominate make & appoint the sd. Penelope my sd. wife full & sole Executrix of this my last Will & Testament. And I do hereby revoke all former & other Wills whatsoever heretofore by me made. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the sixt day of August Anno dni 1689 *HENRY TEONGE*

Signed sealed & published by the before named Henry Teonge the testator in the presence of us who have attested the same and subscribed o^r^ names in the presence of the sd. Testator——

Joseph Roberts—— *Wm Wiggett——*

Jo. Wiggett——

Proved 12 *April* 1690 *by the sole Executrix.*

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goods chattles and creditts of Henry Teonge late Rector of Spernall in the County of Warwick and Diocese of Worcester deceased taken and apprized the ffirst day of Aprill Anno dni 1690 *by us whose names are subscribed as ffolloweth*[1] *:—*

		£	s.	d.
*Inp^rs^*	*his wearing apparell and money in purse appr̄ at :—*	4	0	0
Ite.	*In the hall a clock and Jack appr̄ at*	2	10	0
Ite.	*two Gunns appr̄ at :—*	1	0	0
Ite.	*one table board one screene* 4 *chaires* 4 *Joined stooles two spitts one grate* 2 *ffire shoveles a paire of tonges a chafeing dish ffire links a paire of bellowes a warming pan and some other small things apprized at :—*	0	15	0
Ite.	*Bacon appr̄ at :—*	0	10	0
Ite.	*In the washhouse* 3 *brass potts* 5 *bottles and some other small bras vessells apprized at :—*	2	0	0
Ite.	8 *dishes of pewter one basin one fflagon one aplerōster* 2 *candlesticks* 2 *plates one porringer and some other small pewter and tinne vessells appr̄ at :—*	1	0	0
Ite.	3 *barrells* 4 *covers* 3 *pailes one tuning bowle a powdering tub*[2] *& cover a meale trough and*			

[1] For money values at the present day it is necessary to multiply by 9 or 10.

[2] A tub in which the flesh of animals is 'powdered,' or salted and pickled. [N.E.D.]

		£	s.	d.
	cover a safe and some other wooden ware appr at:—	1	0	0
Ite.	*In the dayry a cheese presse a little table a powering tub a little cheese cowle cheese ffatts milk panns and other things belonging to the dayry one ffrying pan 3 shelves and some other small things apprized at:—*	1	2	6
Ite.	*3 half hodgsheads a little barrell a bowle and some bottles apprized at:—*	0	13	4
Ite.	*In the parlor 2 little tables & chaires & one cupboard at:—*	0	11	0
Ite.	*a parcell of yarne appr at:—*	1	1	0
Ite.	*a parcell of Jersey yarne appr at:—*	0	16	8
Ite.	*In the Chamber over the parlor one chest one couch one chaire 4 stooles one lookeing glasse appr at:—*	0	13	4
Ite.	*A ffeather bed and bedsteeds curtaines valence coverled blanketts boulsters pillow and all thereunto belonging at:—*	2	10	0
Ite.	*One gold ring one silver tankard one silver porringer one spoone one watch & two paire of sleeve buttons appr at:—*	10	0	0
Ite.	*Some old instrum^ts^ of musick appr at:—*	0	5	0
Ite.	*his Studdy of bookes appr at:—*	6	13	4
Ite.	*An Angle rod cast nett desk and other small things at:—*	1	0	0
Ite.	*In the Chamber over the hall 2 old bedsteeds 2 ffeather beds and all things thereonto belonging 3 old chaires 3 trunks one trundle bedsteed one table one settle and a parcell of cheese appr at:—*	4	15	0
Ite.	*14 paire of sheetes 7 table cloathes 18 napkins and some other small linnin appr at:—*	3	6	8
Ite.	*In the Chamber over the washhouse one old paire of bedsteeds a chaff bed a straw kipe[1] a parcell of wooll a strik and strikless[2] 2 old saddles and some other trumpery appr at:—*	0	10	0

[1] Kipe; a basket usually made of osiers.

[2] Strike; a measure containing 4 bushels. Strickle or Strickless; an instrument to strike off the overmeasure of corn, etc.

		£	s.	d.
Ite.	*a parcell of pease appr at:—*	1	10	0
Ite.	*leaden weights appr at:—*	0	1	2
Ite.	*Wheat and oates in the barne appr at:—*	7	0	0
Ite.	*3 Cowles 3 wheeles & a ffan appr at:—*	0	11	0
Ite.	*a cart and geares & beast racks appr at:—*	2	0	0
Ite.	*3 Cowes appr at:—*	6	0	0
Ite.	*4 Sheepe appr at:—*	1	5	0
Ite.	*Wood appr at:—*	0	5	0
Ite.	*Muck appr at:—*	0	6	8
Ite.	*Turkeyes Henns & ducks appr at:—*	0	5	0
Ite.	*Some other lumber unnominated appr at:—*	0	3	4
	The sum is	66	0	0

Jo. Wiggett
Joseph Roberts } *Apprizors*
Wm Wiggett

III THE DIARY

THESE are the bald facts of Teonge's life, which supplement the account given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Of the character of our worthy chaplain, his Diary, like that of Pepys, mirrors the man. It is an intensely human document, brimful of fun and good humour, enlivened with picturesque sketches of the men and women he met, and the places he visited. As a picture of the life on board ship during the period it embraces it could hardly be bettered. Bold, enterprising, and resourceful, Teonge's cheery disposition seldom failed him, and in the opening scene we see him setting out for London lacking almost everything but a light heart. Dressed in "an old coat, and breeches of the same", with "a leathern doublet of 9 years old and upward", and mounted on the leanest

of mares, he jogs merrily on, turning his misfortunes into mirth. " I had nothing but what I was ashamed of," he wrote, " save only :

> " And old fox broad-sword, and a good black gown ;
> And thus Old Henry came to London town."

On arrival in London he was entertained by the Captain and Lieutenant of the *Assistance* " with bottles of claret etc ", and immediately afterwards proceeded to make additions to his scanty kit. This involved some complicated operations of pawning and borrowing, which are minutely described, and by parting with his " lean mare, with saddle, bridle, boots and spurs " to his landlord for 26s., and pledging his cloak for 40s. he becomes the possessor of " a small bed, one pillow, one blanket, one rug " for 21s. Then, with true sailor-like instinct, finding that he still had " a small parcel of money left ", he proceeded to Blackwall to bid adieu to his friends before joining the *Assistance* at Long Reach. The day fitly closes with " bowls of punch, a liquor very strange to me ", and in consequence Teonge's first night at sea was spent in a cabin " so much out of order " that his pillow and bed parted company. By the time the ship reached the Downs, Teonge had found his sea legs, and proceeded to make further additions to his personal gear. He thus quaintly describes how a merciful Providence came to his aid in the early hours of a summer morning, and we can easily visualise the scene. " Early in the morning I met with a rugged towel on the quarter

deck; which I soon secured. And soon after, Providence brought me a piece of an old sail, and an earthen chamber pot; all very helpful to him that had nothing." From time to time he was able to improve his impoverished condition. While still in the Downs his landlady presented him with "a little jug full of ink", a gift which gave him "a great pleasure"—a pleasure shared by his readers, for who knows, but for this kindly landlady, Teonge's Diary might never have been written. His purchases on various occasions included "a pair of black shoes; a pair of red slippers", and "a wig and a hat". On Good Friday he records with evident gratitude the arrival of his "new coat", but it was not until he had been at sea for ten months that he was able to enter in his Diary: "I made my sheets; and this is the first night that I lay in sheets, since I came from England."

A lover of good cheer and good company, before he had been at sea a month he had so thoroughly enjoyed his new mode of life that he came to the conclusion that nothing on shore was "comparable to this at sea where we have good meat and good drink provided for us, and good company" (p. 38), and judging from the various "divertisments", which appealed to his healthy appetite, we can quite appreciate this point of view. Bowls of punch abound, and wine flows in abundance on every conceivable occasion; while the feasts are frequently gargantuan in their proportions. Thus on passing the Rock of Lisbon: "This day our noble Captain feasted the officers of his small squadron

with 4 dishes of meat, viz. 4 excellent hens and a piece of pork boiled, in a dish; a gigget of excellent mutton and turnips; a piece of beef of 8 ribs, well seasoned and roasted; and a couple of very fat green geese; last of all, a great Cheshire cheese. His liquors were answerable viz. Canary, Sherry, Rhenish, Claret, white wine, cyder, ale, beer, all of the best sort, and punch like (as plentiful as) ditch water." At a "princelike dinner" given by the Consul at Scanderoon "every health that we drank every man broke the glass he drank in; so that before night we had destroyed a whole chest of pure Venice glasses" (p. 94). On May 9th, 1676, Teonge and his fellow officers were invited "to a treat" given by the Consul at Assera, "such a one as I never saw before", exclaims Teonge, who gives a list of the thirty-six dishes "as they stood on the table" (p. 149). Within a week he was present at another "treat"—a farewell party given by a certain Captain Browne—"the greatest that ever I saw . . . above a hundred princely dishes" (p. 153). These are typical examples of the "grande festo" which Teonge loves to describe, but for actual descriptive power preference must be given to his lively account of a homely "dinner" in the cabin of the *Assistance*, during "a brave gale" in the Mediterranean (p. 82). "The wind blew very hard, and we had to dinner a rump of Zante beef, a little salted, and well roasted. When it was brought in to the cabin and set on the table (that is, on the floor, for it could not stand on the table for the ship's tossing), our Captain sent for the Master, Mr Fogg, and Mr Davis, to dine

with himself and myself, and the Lieutenant, and the Purser. And we all sat close round about the beef, some securing themselves from slurring by setting their feet against the table, which was fast tied down. The Lieutenant set his feet against the bed, and the Captain set his back against a chair which stood by the side of the ship. Several tumbles we had, we and our plates, and our knives slurred oft together. Our liquor was white rubola, admirable good. We had also a couple of fat pullets; and whilst we were eating of them, a sea came, and forced into the cabin through the chinks of a port hole, which by looking behind me I just discovered when the water was coming under me. I soon got up, and no whit wet; but all the rest were well washed, and got up as fast as they could, and laughed one at the other." Foreign visitors to the fleet were also lavishly entertained, and on parting it was the invariable custom to make every one of them drink to St George "in a rummar as he went over the ship-side" (p. 98).

Throughout the Diary there are frequent references to the old custom of observing the Seaman's Saturday night at sea, when the healths of wives, sweethearts, and absent friends were timely honoured. Thus, on a midsummer's evening "we lie on the deck and drink healths to the King, and our wives in bowls of punch" (p. 40). In the Bay of Biscay, when almost becalmed, they "end the day and week with drinking to our wives in punch-bowls" (p. 42), but it must have a particularly sad occasion when they were forced to end the week with drinking to their friends "in a lemonade" instead of the

usual "good rubola" (p. 67). Christmas Day at sea is celebrated with due solemnity and festivity (p. 117). "At 4 in the morning our trumpeters all do flat their trumpets, and begin at our Captain's cabin, and thence to all the officers' and gentlemen's cabins; playing a levite at each cabin door, and bidding good morrow, wishing a merry Christmas. After they go to their station, viz. on the poop, and sound 3 levites in honour of the morning. At 10 we go to prayers and sermon; text, *Zacc.*, ix, 9. Our Captain had all his officers and gentlemen to dinner with him, where we had excellent good fare; a rib of beef, plum-puddings, mince pies, &c. and plenty of good wines of several sorts; drank healths to the King, to our wives and friends; and ended the day with much civil mirth." In like manner Easter is fitly celebrated, as is also St George's Day and "St Taffy's Day", on which latter occasion Teonge records "many in our ship do wear leeks" (p. 241).

Judged by the standard of the time in which he lived, Teonge appears to have performed his religious duties in a satisfactory manner. Throughout the Diary he invariably gives the text of his sermon on Sundays. On the 13th June, 1675, he preached his "first sermon on ship-board", and owing to the roughness of the weather he "could not stand without holding by both the pillars in the steerage" (p. 32). Occasionally, by reason "of the business of the ship", he remarks, "no prayers to-day"; while his sermon was omitted whenever the Captain was absent and on one occasion it was interrupted by the antics of "a very great

school of porpoises on both sides of our ship . . . causing much laughter" (p. 49). Now and again the prospect of a fight precluded any religious service. Thus, on January 9th, 1675–76, he records (p. 121): "Just when we were ready to go to prayers, the sentry on the main top discovered 6 sails ahead of us, which caused us suddenly to prepare for an engagement." Frequently Teonge was called upon to perform the last rites on the death of one of the crew—who were usually buried out of "the gun-room port".

There is something particularly human and sailor-like in this entry (p. 229): "21. Nov. 1678. This day I buried in the sea Henry Spencer of Lancashire, who gives all his pay, and what else he had, to his landlady at Portsmouth."

That Teonge strongly resented any interference with the duties of his office, is shown in the following amusing episode with the eccentric Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough (p. 226).

3rd Nov. 1678. "The Lord Mordaunt, taking occasion by my not being very well, would have preached, . . . and to that intent sat up till 4 in the morning to compose his speech. . . . All this I myself heard in agitation; and resolving to prevent him, I got up in the morning before I should have done . . . and came into the great cabin, where I found the zealous Lord with our Captain, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse, that he went out of the cabin in great wrath."

As might be expected from such a keen observer, Teonge had always an eye for a pretty woman. He

thus celebrates the charms of his wife in song, of which the first verse runs :—

> O ! Ginnee was a bonnie lass
> Which makes the world to wonder
> How ever it should come to pass
> That we did part asunder.

On all occasions, whether in sunshine or storm, he seems to have acted, with no little display of ingenuity if not genius, as a self-appointed Laureate of the Fleet, and interspersed throughout the Diary are songs to the Chlorises and Phyllis's of his age. He gives a minute description of the charms of an Arabian woman, and of a Greek lady who dined on board his ship. Though she was counted " the beauty of the Levant ", Teonge very gallantly admits that he had seen " far handsomer in England among our milk-maids " (p. 180).

Teonge's portrayal of the pathos and humour of a sailor's life is one of the charms of his Diary His description of the scene on board the *Assistance* just before sailing from the Downs is a perfect cameo. First of all we have the Captain's wife, who suppresses her grief, and " seems no whit troubled that her husband might have the less ". While her son and heir, " so young, yet with his maid to lead him by his dading sleeves " goes " from gun to gun " putting his boyish fingers to the breech of each, and crying " Booh ! " Then come the Lieutenant's and Bo'sun's wives, " like weeping Rachel, or mournful Niobe ". Finally the Master's wife, " a more masculine spirit,

or rather a virago, lays no such grief to her heart, only like one that hath eaten mustard, her eyes are a little red" (p. 36). Though their "weeping eyes bedewed the very sides of the ship", Teonge waggishly intimates that they were merrier when out of sight, "and", he adds, "I could tell with whom too, were I so minded" (p. 37).

In this introduction it is not my intention to discuss the places which the diarist visited during his two voyages to the Mediterranean, or the various sea fights and encounters which he relates in his own amusing way; one typical example is permissible. One Sunday evening near Majorca the *Royal Oak* discovered "a lusty ship". Teonge immediately "went on the top of the poop" with his "staff gun", and stood by the Lieutenant, who hailed the ship, which eventually proved to be a French vessel. On board the *Royal Oak* was a friar who "having been drinking wine, was grown a little valiant", and on the alarm being raised he snatched up a musket and "a collar of bandoleers" and went on deck. Teonge draws an amusing picture of him standing "in his white coat, bald pate, his musket in his hand, and the 12 Apostles rattling about him", a sight which "caused much laughter" (p. 243).

Now and again we get a glimpse of sport in the Navy. On a summer's day in the Gulf of Scanderoon, Teonge and his fellows adjourn to a "green plat", where "cricket" and other sports are indulged in (p. 146), and during a festival at Port Mahon "the *Assistance* barge out rowed the *Royal Oak* barge" (p. 235).

Teonge has minutely described for us the life on board the various ships he served in, and in order to fill in the background of the picture he has so faithfully portrayed, it is necessary to give some account of how the ordinary seaman was fed and clothed. Pepys in one of his Naval minutes, emphasising the importance of proper victuals for the fleet, wrote that "Englishmen, and more especially seamen, love their bellies above anything else",[1] and few readers of Teonge's Diary will care to dispute this contention.

A very good idea of how the ordinary seaman fared is revealed in a victualling contract drawn up by Pepys on the 31st December, 1677. In this contract it was enacted that every man was "to have for his allowance by the day":—[2]

1 lb. avoirdupois of good, clean, sweet, sound, well-baked, and well-conditioned wheaten biscuit.

1 gallon, wine measure, of beer, brewed with good malt, and very good hops, and of sufficient strength.

2 lb. avoirdupois of beef, killed and made up with salt in England, for Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays; or, instead of beef, for 2 of those days, 1 lb. of bacon or salted English pork and a pint of pease.

On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, besides the allowance of bread and beer, each man was to have either:—

[1] Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 151. [2] *Ibid.*, 165–66.

$\frac{1}{8}$ part of a full-sized North Sea cod of 24 in. long; or $\frac{1}{6}$ part of a haberdine (salt, or sun-dried cod), 22 in. long; or $\frac{1}{4}$ part of a haberdine, 16 in. long; or 1 lb. avoirdupois of well-savoured Poor John (salted or dried hake); 2 ounces of butter; 4 ounces of Suffolk cheese or $\frac{2}{3}$ of that weight of Cheddar.

Owing to the prejudice in the Navy against Irish beef, the contract specially provided for English beef.

In vessels sailing "to the southward of the latitude of 39° N." the contractors were allowed to vary the diet; and pursers were instructed to provide "wood, candles, dishes, cans, lanterns, spoons, and other necessaries" for each man. Special provision was also made for the supply of casks containing "good, sweet, fresh water".[1] By the regulations of 1663, lights and fires were to be out after setting watch, and no candles for ships' use (except in lanterns) were permitted. A particularly irksome, but no doubt necessary, restriction, was to the effect that no tobacco was to be smoked, except on the forecastle, over a tub of water!

The disciplinary methods in force on board ship are very fully described by Teonge, and individual punishments for minor offences were formulated by

[1] Navy Rec. Soc., xxvi, 167–8, 177. In 1679 the victualling for the Mediterranean comprised 1 lb. rusk in lieu 1 lb. biscuit; 1 qt. of well-conditioned beverage wine of Naples, Provence, Turkey, Zante or other places instead of beer; 1 pt. of "figolas" instead of pease; 3 lb. flour and 1 lb. raisins instead of beef, for one day in each week; and olive oil in lieu of butter.

the Captain according to the " laws and customs used at sea ", and were not laid down in the official regulations.[1] The usual forms of punishment in vogue during the seventeenth century are given by Captain Nathaniel Boteler, or Butler in his " Six Dialogues."[2]

We have seen how the sailor was fed during the period 1675–79, and it is now necessary to see what steps the State took to provide him with clothing. Teonge on several occasions mentions " a fair on the quarter deck ", when the purser opened his " pack ", and the men bought such articles of clothing as they required. The purchase of this " slop " clothing, as it was called, was optional, and the following articles were vended on board in 1670, in addition to needles and thread.[3]

Cotton waistcoats	Yarn hose
*Dimity waistcoats	*Kersey suits
*Serge waistcoats	*Cloth coats
Cotton drawers	Neck cloths
*Linen drawers	Red caps
*Blue drawers	*Calico caps
Blue shirts	Plain shoes
White shirts	

The sale of those marked with an asterisk was prohibited by the official regulations of 1663, but the provision of serge waistcoats, kersey suits, and cloth coats was undoubtedly welcome in wintry weather.

[1] The Naval Discipline Act of 1661 dealt only with serious crimes and courts-martial.

[2] See *post*, p. 261. [3] *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, p. 330.

The amount of a seaman's purchase was deducted from his pay, which in the case of an able seaman was 24s., and for an ordinary seaman 19s. a lunar month, out of which 6d. a month was deducted for the Chatham Chest, for the relief of disabled seamen, 4d. a month for the chaplain, and 2d. for the surgeon.

Though the seaman had nothing to complain of regarding the rate of pay, the method of payment left much to be desired. At the end of a voyage he received a "ticket" from the officers of his ship, specifying the quality and terms of his service. This, when countersigned by the Navy Board, became the seaman's warrant on the Treasurer of the Navy, for payment of his wages, but unfortunately these "tickets" were not promptly paid on presentation, and the uncertainty and delay frequently depreciated their value.

Some account of the ships Teonge served in may fitly close this account of the Navy of his day. His first, the *Assistance*, was a fourth rate of 555 tons, with a keel length of 102 feet, built in 1650.[1] She carried a crew of 180 men,[2] and her armament, when Teonge joined her, was 56 guns, although her normal establishment was only 48. She had been actively engaged throughout the battles of the Three Dutch Wars (1652–73). His second ship, the *Bristol*, also a fourth rate, of 547 tons, with a keel length of 104 feet, was launched in 1653, and carried 190 men[3] and

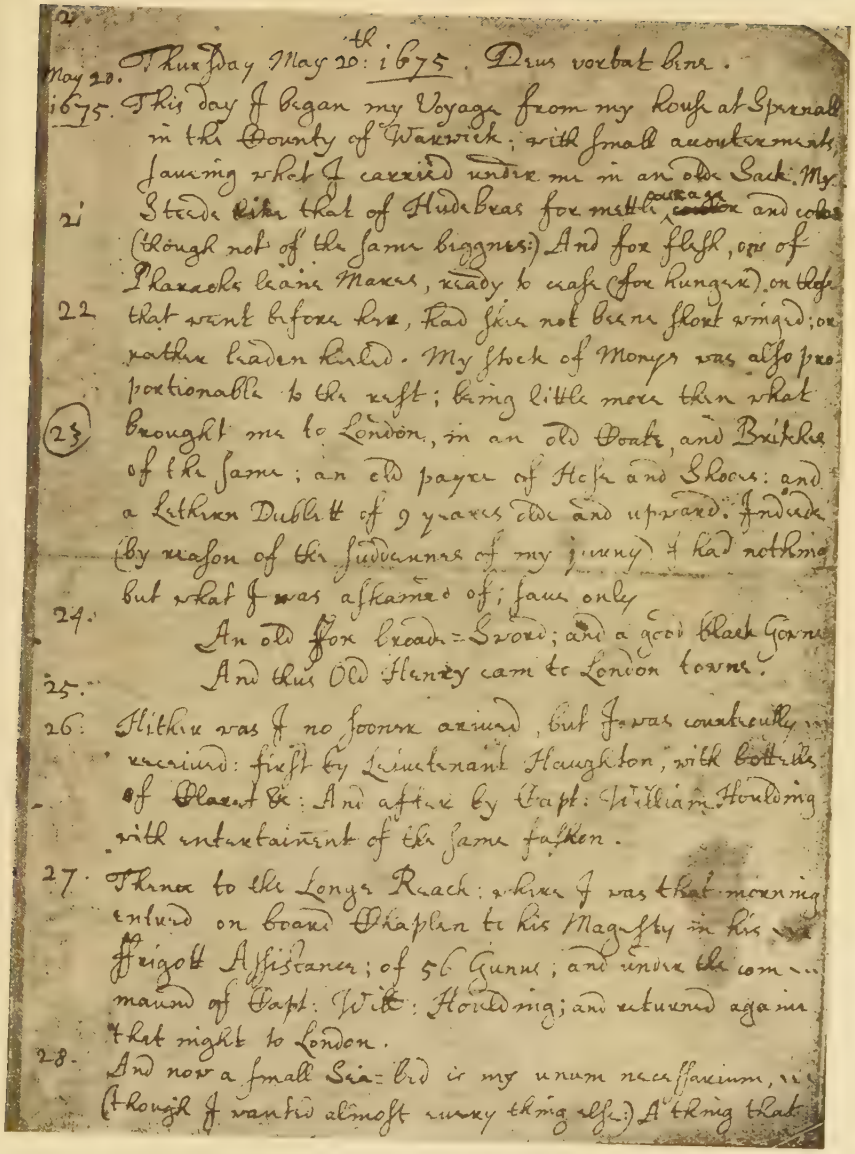
[1] Tonnage and guns can only be taken as approximate. The lists of the period vary.

[2] Navy Records Soc., lvii, p. 259. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

42 guns. Her battle honours comprised the Second and Third Dutch Wars. The *Royal Oak*, virtually a new ship, was built in 1674. She was a third rate, of 1107 tons, with a keel length of 127 feet. Her crew in time of war numbered 390, and her armament consisted of 64 guns. As a Naval Chaplain Teonge received ordinary seaman's pay at the rate of 19s. a lunar month, in addition to a "groat" from the monthly pay of each man on board, in order "to make up competent means".[1]

And now we must leave our worthy Chaplain to tell his own story—one of the most human and entertaining in that golden age of diarists—the age of the Restoration. It is the Diary of one, who, when not engaged about the "business of the ship", could find solace and contentment in knitting his "silk girdle" or making "buttons"; and who, when he had only sixpence in his pocket could turn into the great cabin and play a lesson or two on his "vyall"; such a man was Henry Teonge. As a country parson he is forgotten, but as a Naval Chaplain he deserves immortality. *Deus vortat bene*, as he himself wrote when setting out to join the navy of King Charles the Second.

[1] For his first voyage, which lasted 18 months, Teonge received £18 7s. 9d., less 19s. 3d. deducted for the Chatham Chest; plus £57 for his "groats," a total of £74 8s. 6d., in addition to being victualled. [Pay-book of the *Assistance*. P.R.O.]



2

May 20. Thursday May 20th: 1675. Deus vortat bene.

1675. This day I began my Voyage from my house at Spernall in the County of Warwick; with small accouterments, saueing what I carried under me in an olde Sack. My

21 Steede like that of Hudebras for mettle, courage and colour (though not of the same biggnes:) And for flesh, one of Pharaohs leane Mares, ready to cease (for hunger) on those

22 that went before her, had shee not beene short winged; or rather leaden heeled. My stock of Monys was also proportionable to the rest; being little more then what

23 brought me to London, in an old Coate, and Britches of the same; an old payre of Hose and Shoes: and a Lethern Dublett of 9 yeares olde and upward. Indeede (by reason of the suddennes of my jurny) I had nothing but what I was ashamed of; saue only

24. An old Fox broade-Sword; and a good black Gowne

25. And thus Old Henry cam to London towne.

26. Hither was I no sooner arriued, but I was courteously receiued: first by Leiuetenant Haughton, with bottells of Claret &c: And after by Capt: William Houlding with entertainment of the same fashon.

27. Thence to the Longe Reach: where I was that morning entred on board Chaplen to his Magesty in his Frigott Assistance; of 56 Gunns; and under the commaund of Capt: Will: Houlding; and returned againe that night to London.

28. And now a small Sea-bed is my unum necessarium, (though I wanted almost euery thing else:) A thing that

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[*face p. 26*

The Diary of Henry Teonge

Thursday, May 20–25, 1675. *Deus vortat bene!* This day I began my voyage from my house at Spernall, in the county of Warwick; with small accoutrements saving what I carried under me in an old sack. My ſteed like that of Hudibras for mettle, courage, and colour (though not of the same bigness), and for flesh one of Pharaoh's lean mares, ready to seize (for hunger) on those that went before her, had she not been short-winged or rather leaden-heeled. My ſtock of moneys was also proportionable to the reſt, being little more than what brought me to London; in an old coat and breeches of the same, an old pair of hose and shoes, and a leathern doublet of nine years old and upward. Indeed (by reason of the suddenness of my journey) I had nothing but what I was ashamed of, save only

> An old fox broad-sword and a good black gown;
> And thus Old Henry came to London town.

26: Hither was I no sooner arrived but I was courteously received: firſt by Lieutenant Haughton[1] with bottles of claret, etc., and after by Captain William Houlding[2] with entertainment of the same fashion.
27: Thence to the Long Reach,[3] where I was that morning entered on board Chaplain to his Majeſty in his frigate *Aſſiſtance*, of fifty-six guns, and under

the command of Captain William Houlding; and returned again that night to London.

28: And now a small sea-bed is my *unum necessarium* (though I wanted almoſt everything else), a thing that I could not be without, nor knew I how to compass it. I sent for some bedding into the country, and I try some friends to borrow some moneys; but all in vain, and all to retrieve my cloak, left long since [in pawn], not at Troas (as Saint Paul's was), for his was recovered only with demand—mine could not be got by fair or foul means. Seeing no other means, I remembered the poet:

ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.*

I summon all my forces, and I borrow 5s. of my landlady; and thus I redeemed my cloak; lying only for 10s.

29: Having done thus, my lean mare, with saddle, bridle, and boots and spurs, I sold to my landlord for 26s., upon condition that, if 26s. was sent to him in a fortnight's time, the mare might be redeemed, but the other things loſt. And my cloak I pawn again for 40s.

(30)[4]: With this money I paid my quarters, and took coach at my Cousin Tyler's door, with my man; and at Poplar I bought a small bed, one[5] pillow, one blanket, one rug, for 21s.

31: And thus having ſtill a small parcel of money left, and being loth to go to sea too rich for fear of pirates, I am coached to Blackwall, where I take leave of some friends that accompanied me thither.

* 'Fight with silver spears and you will conquer all.'—*Reply of the Delphic Oracle to Philip of Macedon.*

June 1st, 1675: And, *omnia mea mecum portans*, I take water, and come on board the ship *Assistance* (then still in the Long Reach); drank part of three bowls of punch (a liquor very strange to me), and so to bed in a cabin so much out of order that, when I thought to find my pillow on the top, I found it slipped between the cords and under the bed.

2: This day we fall down into the Hope (our Captain being come on board the night before and unexpected).

3: We hoist sail; and, with Essex on the left hand, and Kent on the right, we come to the Buoy in the Oaze[6]—a thing as strange to me as was the rest of their dialect. Hither many of our seamen's wives follow their husbands, and several other young women accompany their sweethearts, and sing *Loth to depart*[7] in punch and brandy; so that our ship was that night well furnished, but ill manned, few of them being well able to keep watch had there been occasion. You would have wondered to see here a man and a woman creep into a hammock, the woman's legs to the hams hanging over the sides or out at the end of it. Another couple sleeping on a chest; others kissing and clipping; half drunk, half sober or rather half asleep; choosing rather (might they have been suffered) to go and die with them than stay and live without them. Here I could relate several amorous songs, some from the men to the women, others *contra*, showing them 'loth to depart'.

> Claret and brandy, punch and good ale abound
> Wishing us safety to the pleasant Downs.

Not far from thence, the water being very smooth, we see an example of imprudence—the tops of two masts, the remainder of that good ship the *Algier*, under the command of Captain Knevet,[8] there run aground—some say by wilful carelessness.

Thence we pass to the Buoy on the Redsands,[9] thinking to go the nearest way over the Flats;[10] but, fearing we should be calmed, we tack about and go the other way. And here we begin our warlike achievements; for, seeing a merchantman near us without taking the least notice of a man-of-war, we give him a shot, make him lower his top-gallant (*id est*, put off his hat to us), and our gunner presently goes on board of him, makes him pay 6s. 6d. for his contempt, abating him 2d. because it was the first shot.[11] And so we pass on to the Buoy in the Gunfleet, where both on the right and left hand we see several sad spectacles, the relics of ships cast away; which served as beacons to us and others to direct them to steer *in medio* as the safest way; and we anchor for that night there.

4: Early we weigh anchor, the weather being stormy; and my head begins to be very giddy; but no whit sick. We leave Harwich far on the larboard side, and keep our lead[12] going for fear of the Galloper.[13] Here is the first green water which I have seen; no land is now to be seen. The wind is against us, and we point just toward the coasts of Norway. Then we tack, and stand for the Downs, where the porpoises come in herds on both sides the ship: a sign of a storm, as the seamen say; for which we provide accordingly. We

make several tacks, and see many mackerel-boats; and at four of the clock we come to an anchor near the North Foreland, where we ſtay but the turning of the tide; and about this time we discover a ſtrong squadron of the Dutch, firing and rejoicing as they sailed along that they were so near home. About 11 we hoiſt sail, and haſte toward the Downs, looking for our directory, the Foreland light.

5: We come to an anchor in the Downs this morn about 4. And here I might tell you what Providence put into my hands; which, though little worth of themselves, yet were they of great use to him that then wanted almoſt everything. Early in the morning I met with a rugged towel on the quarter-deck: which I soon secured. And, soon after, Providence brought me a piece of an old sail and an earthen chamber-pot: all very helpful to him that had nothing. Here we find six men-of-war, all of them saluting us with seven guns apiece.

> Here one begs ink, another paper lends,
> To write a letter to their absent friends.
> And Deal sends fresh meat, Margate sends us ale,
> Till we have farther orders for to sail.

(6): No prayers to-day by reason of the business of the ship, for we suppose we shall be commanded away suddenly.

7–9: Very ſtormy weather the seventh, eighth, and ninth days; but worse that night, insomuch that we, lying somewhat near the *Briſtol*, were forced to carry out another anchor, and to do what possibly could be

done to keep us from falling foul upon her. But the *Briſtol* went away the next morning.

11: The air is so clear that we can easily see the coaſts of France; and with a proſpective glass, Calais itself, as they tell me, it being not above seven or eight leagues from us.

12: Fair weather on Saturday. But so tempeſtuous on the Sunday [(13)] that many said they never saw such weather there at that time of the year. This day at Deal Beach a boat was overturned with five men in it: three leaped out and swam to shore with much ado; the other two were covered with the boat, whereof one was dead and sank; the other, whose name was Thomas Boules (when the boat was pulled off him, which had lain on his head and neck a long time), was carried away with the violence of the water; yet in sight, and by that means was at laſt hauled out, and there lay on the ſtones for dead; for his fellow was dead long before. A traveller, in very poor clothes (coming to look on, as many more did), presently pulled out his knife and sheath, cuts off the nether end of his sheath, and thruſt his sheath into the fundament of the said Thomas Boules, and blew with all his force till he himself was weary; then desired some others to blow also; and in half an hour's time brought him to life again. I drank with him at his house, *April* 28th, 1678.[14] This day also I preached my firſt sermon on shipboard, where I could not ſtand without holding by both the pillars in the ſteerage; and the Captain's chair and others were ready to tilt down—sometimes backwards, sometimes forward. All our

women and old seamen were sick this day; I was only giddy.

14–15: Very fair weather these days, so that many of our seamen get into the shrouds and forecaſtle to examine causes and to view their forces, which then suffered merciless martyrdom.

16: The Captain and his lady, the Lieutenant and his wife, and myself went on shore to Deal: we were all carried out of our pinnance to the shore on men's shoulders. We saw Sandown Caſtle, Deal Caſtle, and Walmer Caſtle, all well furniſhed. Here I saw two ſtrange sights to me. One was Deal Beach, reaching from the South Foreland almoſt to the North Foreland; and is nothing else but as it were a very great bank of ſtones and flints and shells of fishes: higher than the smooth sands by many fathoms and very broad, being daily augmented by the sea: and is so clear and void of sand or duſt that the inhabitants (slighting the green grass which is close by it) do spread their linen on those ſtones to dry and whiten: which also lie so loose that you tread up to the ankles every ſtep you go: yet on this bank ſtands the town of Deal. The other thing which was ſtrange to me was that, in all places else wherever I yet was, the chiefeſt care of the neat housewife was to keep their rooms clean from all manner of duſt, by sweeping, washing, and rubbing them. But here clean contrary; for, having firſt swept them clean, they then ſtrew them all over with sand—yea their very beſt chambers. Here we dined. And here Mrs Walton, our landlady, gave me a little jugful of ink; which did me a great

pleasure. Towards evening we were all carried from shore to our pinnace at leaſt one hundred paces: the water being up to the middles of the seamen; the women for fear of falling, and especially the Lieutenant's wife, huggling the water-men about the necks till they had almoſt choked them; which caused much laughter, though our feet and garments wept.

17–18: Both rainy weather; on which some merchants came to us from London.

19: Whereas our ship was very ill manned, this laſt night our Captain received an order to press men. The beſt news that could come. Bad rainy weather; but it doth not much trouble us, for we are plotting how to intercept merchants or hoys to press men to supply us. And this evening about 10 of the clock our Captain received a packet, and order to sail speedily; to which purpose our Captain gave these ensuing inſtructions to the ship that went with us, to be observed from Deal to Tangier.

Sailing Orders June the 20th, 1675; between his Majeſty's ship Aſſiſtance, *under the command of Captain William Houlding, and the other ships then under his conduct.*

1. If we weigh in the daytime, we will loose our fore topsail, and fire one gun. If in the night, we will fire one gun, and put forth a light in the fore top-maſt shrouds; which light is to be answered by every ship in the same place.
2. If we tack in the night, we will put out two lights, one in the mizzen shrouds, the other in the fore shrouds, of equal height.

3. If we anchor in the night, we will fire one gun, and put out a light in the mizzen shrouds, which light is to be answered in the same place.
4. If we lie by in the night, or try, or hull, by reason of bad weather, we will fire one gun, and put out two lights in our mizzen shrouds of equal height, which lights are to be answered; and when we make sail, we'll make the sign as for weighing in the night.
5. If we should chance to see any ship in the night, the discoverer is to fire a musket and to make false fires. And if we should not know one another, the hailer shall ask: "What ship is that?" the other shall answer: "*Royal Highness;*" and the hailer shall say: "Prosper."
6. If any be oppressed by reason of carrying sail, he is to hang out a light at bowsprit end, and to fire a gun, and to make false fires now and then, till he be assisted.
7. If any spring a leak or be in distress by day, let him make a weft,[15] and haul up his sails, that his weft may be seen, whereby to repair to him. If in the night, to fire one gun, and to put out four lights of equal height.
8. If it prove foggy weather by night or day, we must ring our bells, and fire a musket now and then. And in dark nights each ship to carry a light.
9. No ship shall presume to go ahead of the light in the night.
10. If any lose company in foul weather, and meet again, those to windward shall let run their topsails, and those to leeward shall haul up their foresails and mizzens if they are abroad.

11. If we lose company between this and Plymouth, our rendezvous is at Plymouth; if between that and Tangier, at Tangier.

(20): No prayers to-day. We are making ready to sail, and are under sail after dinner; yet we drink a health to all our friends behind us in a good bowl of punch; knowing now that we shall go not only to Tripoli but to convoy the *Scipio*,[16] fraught with 27,000 dollars, to Scanderoon.

And now may you see our mournful ladies singing *Lacrimæ*, or *Loth to Depart;* whilſt our trumpets sound *Maids where are your hearts*,[17] etc. Our noble Captain (though much bent on the preparation for his voyage), yet might you see his heart full of trouble to part from his lady and his son and heir, who, though so young yet with his maid to lead him by his dading sleeves,[18] would he go from gun to gun, and put his finger to the breech of the gun and cry "Booh!" whilſt the mother, like a woman of great discretion, seems no whit troubled that her husband might have the less. But our Lieutenant's wife like weeping Rachel or mournful Niobe; as also was the Boatswain's wife: indeed all of them like the turtle-doves or young pigeons, true emblems of mourning. Only our Maſter's wife, of a more masculine spirit—or rather a virago—lays no such grief to her heart, only, like one that hath eaten muſtard, her eyes are a little red. *Σίναπι παρά τό συνέσθαι τους ὤπας.*

And now being sailing out of the Downs about 4 of the clock, accompanied with the *Scipio*, the Smyrna-merchant and the *Mary*, a Malaga-man, we are bade

God-speed with guns from every ship there, whilſt we thank each ship in the same language. Our Captain intended to set the women all on shore at Deal; but, finding no convenience there of a coach, he carries them to Dover. About 10 at night (having been hindered by pressing some men as we went along), we came to an anchor in Dover Road, where rode several merchants at anchor when we came in; but, for fear of our pressing their men, ſtole away in the night. 21: The sun rising gives us a full view of Dover Caſtle, situate so on a hill, and with several other conveniencies, that it commands all about that is within its reach both by sea and land, and itself is impregnable.

The town (formerly famous for trading, with many tall ships belonging to her but now having loſt it, is much impoverished) lies in a deep bay, in a half-moon, encompassed with ſteep hills on both sides; and, to prevent invasion, is fortified with three several block-houses, commanded by three several Commanders, so that a boat cannot pass without leave from these. By 6 in the morning all our ladies are sent on shore in our pinnace; whose weeping eyes bedewed the very sides of the ship as they went over into the boat, and seemed to have chosen (might they have had their wills) rather to have ſtuck to the sides of the ship like the barnacles or shell-fish than to have parted from us. But they were no sooner out of sight but they were more merry; and I could tell with whom, too, were I so minded.

As soon as the boat was put off from the ship, we

honour their departure with three cheers, seven guns,[19] and our trumpets sounding. They in the interim (as far as they could see us, holding up their hands with Eola, saying "*Vale longum*" *!*) do close the devotions not as of old the heathens used, *Dii Deæq. omnes*, etc., but "Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be with you all! But soon forget us." Now having done with our Delilahs or Myrmidons, and our pinnace being come again from shore, we hoist up our mainsail, etc., and make way as faſt as we can.

'Twas not long before we had passed the coaſts of Kent and entered upon the borders of Sussex but we discover a sail, out of our reach, *ergo* took the less notice of us as a man-of-war. Our Captain, taking the prospective [glass], discovered her to be a Hollander and a man-of-war; and presently commanded to tack upon her: which they, soon perceiving (like a cowardly dog that lies down when he sees one come that he fears), lowers not only his topsail, but claps his sail to the maſt, and lies by. This satisfies us, as unworthy of so pitiful an onset; and we keep on our course as before. Yet I cannot forget the words of our noble Captain, viz. "I wish I could meet with one that would not vail his bonnet,[20] that I might make work for my brethren at White Hall"—meaning officers that were out of employment.

22: Having sailed all night, and with a scant wind; yet in the morning we are got as far as the Beachy, and over againſt the Seven Cliffs;[21] and, having fair weather, we go to prayers at 10, and to dinner at 12. No life at the shore being comparable to this at sea,

where we have good meat and good drink provided for us, and good company, and good divertisments, without the leaſt care, sorrow, or trouble; which will be continued if we forget not our duty—viz. loyalty and thankfulness.

23: In the morning we are as far as the Isle of Wight, which lies very high towards the sea, finely situate and very fertile. Here is plenty of crabs and lobſters, but we cannot go on shore for them. This is that little spot so much envied by the French, who have often attempted it, but were forced to retreat with great damage. Here we are calmed all day, and do recreate ourselves with feaſting Captain Mauris and his gentlemen, in requital of their kindness to our Captain the day before.

24: Midsummer Day, and we are calmed ſtill over againſt the Isle of Wight, and within ken of Portland, though thirty leagues from us. This day two seamen that had ſtolen a piece or two of beef were thus shamed: they had their hands tied behind them, and themselves tied to the mainmaſt, each of them a piece of raw beef tied about their necks in a cord, and the beef bobbing before them like the knot of a cravat; and the reſt of the seamen came one by one, and rubbed them over the mouth with the raw beef; and in this poſture they ſtood two hours.[22]

25: Still that wind that is, is againſt us, and we are a little nearer to Portland; but the wind is so little that as one tide carries us forward, the next carries us back. Here we hail to us a merchantman, and two hoys; out of which we press six seamen.

26: The wind very high, and scant, yet we make a shift to hail in two hoys, and change some men. And towards evening we lie on the deck, and drink healths to the King and our wives, in bowls of punch.

(27): We discover six sail far from us: supposing them Frenchmen;[23] therefore we provide accordingly. Chests and hammocks go all down; our guns all ready; and we tack towards them. Coming near, they prove our East India merchants; each of them salute us with five guns, and we answer accordingly; the last gave us seven; and each give us one back, but the last gave us three. And thus we part; but this meeting hindered our prayers, for 'tis not a time to pray when we are ready to fight. And the wind being very scant, we came with much ado to an anchor in Plymouth Road, between Saint Francis Castle (that being on the left hand) and Batten's Mount, on the right hand.

28: This morning we salute the Castle with nine guns; they answer with as many; we return our thanks with three more. And we spend our time in viewing the several mounts, and new citadel[24] (lately built by King Charles the Second) in our prospective glasses.

This is a very commodious port, or haven, having two several harbours that will hold at least two hundred sail to ride securely, being so fenced with castles and fortifications that nothing can hurt them. But especially that famous citadel lately built makes the place impregnable, being one of the strongest ports of England. This was that place so famous lately for

its rebellion againſt King Charles the Firſt of blessed memory; and hither did that rebel Essex[25] escape when he fled out of Cornwall, and left behind all his army of foot, with bag and baggage.

29: This day I intended to have gone ashore; but the wind blew fair, and our Captain, having taken in some fresh provisions, gave order to sail; and out we go almoſt to the Rame Head point.[26]

30: Our men not being yet come on board nor the flyboat[27] that was to go with us, our Captain ſtands in again, gives then a gun to command them off; then sends them another shot which came near them, signifying the Captain's great anger: this brings them away. Now the wind blows fresh, and we with our companions, six in number, make for Tangier. *Deus vortat bene!*

> Our ſtay, though short, got provender good ſtore,
> Beef, pork, sheep, ducks, geese, hens, chickens, galore.
> Cider, beer, brandy, bread—and something more
> I could have told you had I gone ashore.

About 11 of the clock we pass by the Eddyſtone, or Mewſtone,[28] being a small rock not much longer than a fourth-rate frigate, lying South from the Rame Head about three leagues from land, whereon many a good ship hath been split. At low water you may see it, but at a high water 'tis covered four or five fathom, and lies the more dangerous because 'tis so far from land and also under water. Thence we pass by the coaſts of Cornwall to the Lizard, whither we came by 6 of the clock, having a fresh gale. And

here I bade adieu to Old England; for no more English land was to be seen after that.

July 1*ſt*: This day we enter upon the Bay of Biscay, where we find the seas very smooth, contrary to our expectation; and we have a fair gale, and see none but our own company, of which two sail very heavily, and hinder much; and towards evening we light on[29] a Virginia-man, and press three ſtout seamen.

2: The wind has favoured us since we came from Plymouth,[30] as much as it was againſt us before: crossing the old proverb: "The North-Eaſt wind, neither good for man nor beaſt" is the beſt for us: which to me is an absolute portendor of a prosperous voyage; for, if the worſt of winds be to us propitious, the beſt muſt needs be prosperous.

3: Still on the Bay of Biscay, and almoſt calmed. Here we overhaul the seamen's cheſts, and order only two for a mess, and the reſt to be ſtaved, leſt they trouble the ship in a fight. Here the porpoises come tumbling in great multitudes. We end the day and week with drinking to our wives in punch-bowls.

(4): We have a sermon in the morning, and prayers in the afternoon; and, though we have no wind, our ship doth roll so much that we can scarce ſtand or go on the decks. The dishes run off the table at dinner, the chairs tumble o'er and o'er, and the bottles of wine ſtand not without holding; whereat a Jew, that could speak very little English, said the ship was very drunken. Here we see several of those great fishes called the jubartus, or grampus, spurting up water a

great height. Some think this to be the whale ; others say 'tis a different species. One came near us, at leaſt adjudged to be thirty yards long. This afternoon we have a small breeze, by the help of which we creep on a little, but we find it ſtill increasing.

5 : The wind favouring us all night, brought us joyfully on this morning ; and our Captain lies by for the flyboat, now at leaſt a league aſtern, whilſt the *Scipio* and Malaga-man come under our ſtern with a *How do ye ?* The flyboat coming up, we tow her with our ship, put out more sail, and begin to look for the Southern Cape.[31]

6 : The North-Eaſt wind blowing fresh (fearing leaſt we should pull her in pieces, for she was very weak) we let the flyboat loose to shift for herself : And whereas we ran but four knots in a minute[32] before, we run seven now, and with less sail abroad. Now very often the seas break over our waist, and come in at our scuttles, and do us some small injuries. Now our table and chairs are lashed faſt to the boards ; our dishes held on the table ; and our bottles of wine held in our hands. Many in the ship are caſting up their reckonings, and not able to eat or drink. I am very well. The *Scipio* close by us rolled off her top-gallant maſt.

7 : The wind ſtill fair and fresh ; but our companions hinder us : all our recreation is to see the grampuses play about us, and some few fowl, for nothing else but sea is to be seen.

8 : Now we are calmed, and begin to look for some of the Sally men,[33] if they dare be so bold to come in our

way. Our guns are made ready, and some muskets brought on the quarter-deck: but none comes.

9: We tow the flyboat again, and make ready our ſtudding-ſails and booms; and also make net work to arm the quarter-deck.

10: We are paſt the Rock of Lisbon,[34] but could not discover it by reason of the fog. This day our noble Captain feaſted the officers of his small squadron with four dishes of meat, viz. four excellent hens and a piece of pork boiled in a dish; a gigget of excellent mutton and turnips; a piece of beef of eight ribs, well seasoned and roaſted; and a couple of very fat green geese; laſt of all, a great Cheshire cheese: a rare feaſt at shore. His liquors were answerable, viz. Canary, sherry, Rhenish, claret, white wine, cider, ale, beer, all of the beſt sort; and punch like[35] ditch-water; with which we conclude the day and week in drinking to the King and all that we love; while the wind blows fair.

(11): The wind is very calm, and I preached a sermon: text, *Luke*, viii, 15.

12: This morning we ſteer South-East; the weather very hazy; and we look out, thinking to discover land. Some on the maintop force their conceit into a belief; but in vain: no land yet. This day our Captain is invited (with the reſt of the Commanders of the fleet) on board the Smyrna factor; when our Captain came off, she salutes us with five guns; we give thanks with three. She also gave the *Scipio* three. There she leaves us, being bound for Cadiz[36] herself.

13: Very calm, and a bright hot day, good for the

haymakers ashore; and here a grampus of a great bigness showed himself near us above the water, as high as an ordinary cottage, but far longer.

14: Very calm and hot; the wind not ſtirring till 11 of the clock, yet at 4 in the afternoon we discover land, viz. the coaſts of Barbary, lying very high. Now we rejoice, having not seen any land since we bade adieu to fair England. And now also we see the Spanish coaſts on the left hand, and in way of rejoicing we have several bowls of punch drunk round about the ship. The wind being fair and the evening drawing on, the Malaga-man salutes us with three guns, and takes his leave.

> No sooner from our topmaſt-head we see
> The Turkish hills, the coaſts of Barbary,
> But Spain salutes us, and her shores discloses,
> And lofty hills againſt the Turks opposes.
> We sail 'twixt both, playing at handy dandy[37]
> With noble bowls of punch and quarts of brandy.

15: By 9 this morn we come to an anchor in Tangier Bay.[38] About 10 I went on shore with our Captain only to view the place. My companion was our doctor, Mr Thomas Sheapard, and his young son-in-law. He took me with him to see an old acquaintance, a Captain, then very consumptive; where we had good sack.[39] After that we went to view the forts and situation of the city. It ſtands on the side of a hill, or rather in a bottom between two little hills; one narrow passage leading to it from the water, with a ſteep ascent close by one end of a ſtrong caſtle. The Mole[40]

not finished, but daily in the summer increased, hath many great guns on it; and will be (if they go on with it) a brave safeguard. The houses are only two ſtoreys high, flat roofed, and covered with hollow tiles, laid for the moſt part without mortar; windows, but no glass in them. The ſtreets very narrow, and full of angles, and very roughly paved; in a word, no comeliness at all in the whole place. The walls are very high, and old and much decayed in many places, but full of good guns; and compasseth the town like a half-moon, with a very deep trench about it cut in the rock. On the land side of it there is a pitiful palisade, not so good as an old park-pale (for you may anywhere almoſt thruſt it down with your foot), and on the outside a ditch, which seems to have been caſt up a thousand years since; for 'tis almoſt filled up. In which palisade ſtand about twelve forts, within reach one of another, well furnished with good guns. But especially the Charles Fort, ſtanding a quarter of a mile from the town, and on the top of the hill, and facing a hill far higher than itself is.

There the doctor and I (desiring to see the Fort) were invited into a fair room by Captain Charles Daniell[41] himself, and nobly entertained, after he had showed us the ſtrength of his Fort.

Where firſt of all he gave us a cruſt of excellent bread and two bottles of claret; then took us into his gardens,[42] which lie clearly round about the Fort, and shadowed with an arbour of vines of all sorts and of his own planting. Where he hath also all sorts of sweet herbs and flowers, and all manner of garden-

ſtuff; with ſtrawberries, melons of all sorts, figs, and fruit trees of his own planting. Here we drank several bottles of wine. After this he took us into his cellar, where he feaſted us with roaſt beef cold, Weſtfalia polony-pudding, parmesan; gave us cucumbers, musk-melons, salads, and a reeve[43] of Spanish onions as thick as my thigh; ſtowed us with good wine; and then, loth to let us go, he sent one of his corporals with us to see us safe to our pinnace. Such a hearty entertainment I never saw before from a mere ſtranger; nor never shall again till I return to the prince-like Captain Daniell. From here we go to the Mole, where we find our pinnace; ſtay a little for our Captain; and then come aboard all together, something late.

16: The wind being fair for us, we are under sail by 10 o'clock towards the Straits' mouth, having Apes Hill[44] on the right and Gibraltar[45] on the left hand, seven leagues diſtant, though they seem at the view to be not above three miles.

Apes Hill is a rock, of a great height and extremely ſteep: on the top of it lives a Marabout wizard or enchanter;[46] and what vessel soever of the Turks goes by gives him a gun as she goes, to beg a fortunate voyage. Here everyone that hath not yet been in the Straits pays his dollar or muſt be ducked at yard-arm,[47]

Gibraltar is also a very high rock, and on the Spanish shore, where the town lies secure under the rock; whereon ſtands a ſtrong caſtle, well furnished with all necessaries. Here is a fair haven before it; and 'tis a place of great ſtrength. On the very top of this rock dwells a pilgrim who gives notice to the caſtle

and town what vessels he can discover coming either way, by hanging out so many balls as he discovers ships. And now, having a fairer gale, having left our flyboat at Tangier we tow the Hull-man to our ship, and merrily sail by the Spanish coaſt.

The Pyrenees hills part France from Spain. And the Mediterranean Sea parts Spain from Africa and Barbary. Spain was firſt called Iberia, *ab Ibero flumine;* and after that 'twas called Hispania, *ab Hispano.* The Syrians firſt placed a colony in the Isle of Gades or Cadiz, now called Cales: who by the help of Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, Carthaginians, held it a long while. It was afterwards subdued by the Romans, who were driven thence by the Vandals, and they by the Goths, and they by the Saracens and Moors, who were firſt subdued by Ferdinand and after by Philip the Third, both Africans. Spain was twelve kingdoms. But the chief coat of the King of Spain is a caſtle quartered with a lion, in remembrance of the kingdoms Caſtile and Lyons. The King of Spain hath commanded formerly not only that great country divided into twelve kingdoms, but also of the kingdom of Naples in Italy; the duchy of Milan; the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Evisa Major and Minor; the Canaries; and many ſtrong places in Barbary, and more on the back-side of Africa; of Mexico in the West Indies; Brazil; the islands of the South and North Seas, and Eaſt Indies. But of late years he hath loſt many of these; but has much ſtill in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. All along this Spanish coaſt are lighthouses, built in such convenient places that

they can give notice one to another of any enemy's approaching or landing; to prevent the Turks, who many times have ſtolen upon them, lying ſo near them, and have many times taken away whole families together; notwithſtanding the Spaniſh coaſt (as also the Barbary) are nothing but mountains.

17: This morn we are paſt Malaga, and come over againſt the Granada hills on the Spaniſh ſhore, which, though they are diſtant from the shore one hundred and twenty miles, yet are they ſeen as if not ten miles from thence. On the tops of these hills lie great quantities of snow all summer long; and, by reason of the coolness of the air, cruſted and shining like ice. This day we begin to exercise our young men to the musket: and also we have made a sail for the stern of the ship, called a water-sail,[48] not usual. At sun setting we come over againſt Cape De Gat,[49] sixty leagues diſtant from Tangier—a place where the Turkish pirates use to lie, but as yet we see none of them, though we prepare for them. In the evening (according to our wonted cuſtom) we end the day with two bowls of punch. Much lightning this evening.

(18): We have a sermon: text, *Rom.*, viii, 28. We are got but very little forward since yeſterday. In sermon-time came a very great school of porpoises on both sides of our ship, many of them jumping their whole length out of the water, causing much laughter. The wind is calm all day, but sometimes it blows for half an hour, when a small shower comes. About 7 we had a fresh gale; but rain and very much lightning all the night after.

19: This morn we are over againſt Cape Saint Paul ;[50] and with a ſmall gale (having paſſed Cunny Island, called ſo because nothing but conies are on it) we come near Alicante ;[51] but the wind failing us, we cannot get in this night. But the Spaniards, not diſcerning our flag ſo far off, took us for Turks ; and therefore made ſeveral lights on the ſhore, to alarm the inhabitants. This night, above all others, I was diſturbed with ſtrange dreams ; and the death-watch[52] (as ſome call it) all night in my cabin.

20 : By 2 of the clock this morn we are at anchor in Alicante Road. On the Eaſt end ſtands the caſtle, upon a very high and ſteep rock, one way only leading to it, and that narrow and full of turnings. It commands the whole town, being ſo very much higher ; and might batter it all down with ſtones only, if they could be but thrown over the caſtle-wall. 'Tis inaccessible ſave only by that narrow way that leads to it : inſomuch when the Moors were driven out of the town by the Spaniard, ſome of the Moors did, with a great deal of difficulty, get up into the caſtle, and kept it againſt the Spaniard, and much annoyed the town daily. In a ſhort ſpace the Moors in the caſtle were all dead ſave only one, who himſelf kept the caſtle a whole year after all his companions were dead : which the report is were ſix hundred. This ſingle Moor made ſeveral trains of powder leading to ſeveral parts of the caſtle ; by which he could at his pleaſure fire many guns at once or ſeverally, at his pleaſure. The enemy (not doubting but that there was a conſiderable number of men in the caſtle, and being conſtantly

troubled to keep a ſtrict watch for fear of their sallying out, and finding that they could no way force it) hangs up a flag of truce, and propounds honourable conditions. The Moor refuseth these, but makes articles far more advantageous for himself, and throws them over the caſtle-wall; to which the enemy gladly yielded, knowing no other way to have it in their possession. The gates being opened, the single Moor appears; they ask for the reſt, and search, but find none at all —causing much admiration. 'Tis reported that the metal was carried up, and the guns were caſt in the caſtle. The town is ſtrongly walled round; with several towers in it, and great fortifications on the Eaſt of the caſtle, well furnished with guns. And on this side of the town are abundance of olive yards, with many houses in them, which appear like so many flat towers, or ſteeples, made on purpose for their security; that, if the Turks come in (as many times they do in the night), the Spaniards flee presently into these; pulling up their ladder (for they have no door but what is a great height), and so save themselves and annoy their enemies. These are all built of ſtone, and flat-roofed; and the place very rich by reason of great trading. Strange sport here this day in massacring of seven bulls, which they call bull-baiting. From hence we have wines, grapes, plums, pears, musk-melons, cucumbers, onions, figs, etc. Little or none of the Mountain Alicante[53] to be got.

> If noble Captain Alicante had been ashore,
> He would have maimed half our men or more.

This evening, as soon as our Captain had a little refreshed himself, viz. at 9 o'clock, he commanded to weigh anchor; and, having given the sign to our companions, and having a fair wind, away we go.

21: This morning we are over against Orlando's Gap. The tradition is thus: Lying east from Alicante, Sir Orlando Furioso being by the multitude of Moors driven between these mountains (which are a wonderful height and very steep) and the sea with his army, and being there shut up between the impassable hills and the sea, he makes a speech according to the occasion; and (when as the Moors lay in that narrow passage between the hills and the sea, so that he could by no means force a passage that way, and intended to starve him and his army there) he with his men clambers up those craggy rocks, as high as he could possibly go; and then (with what tools he had) hewed his way through the top of those rocks, through which passage he and his army escapes; and fell upon his enemies unawares to their great damage. The Hullman left us on Monday; but this morn we have the *Unity* (a good ship) come up, and salutes us with five guns: we give her thanks with three; she thanks us with one again; and so we sail on, expecting the *London*, who will scarce fetch us up, we fear.

Thus the *Assistance, Scipio, Unity*
(*Tria sunt omnia*), we sail merrily,
Longing to meet th' expected enemy,
The Turkish pirates, rogues of Tripoli.
Land's out of sight, the loud wind's westwardly,
And boisterous waves run almost mountains high.

22: This morn we are near the edge of the Gulf of Lyons—a very dangerous place for ſtorms—lying North from us as we sail. The wind very fair, and the sea quiet enough, though usually here about 'tis very rough. This day we have a fair on our quarter-deck, viz. our Purser opens his pack, and sells, to the value of £30 or more, shirts, drawers, waistcoats, neckcloths, ſtockings, shoes, and takes no money for them: this is news.[54]

And now we are over againſt the kingdom of France; being of one entire thing, one of the richeſt and moſt absolute monarchies in the whole world; having the English seas on the north, the Mediterranean on the south, very commodious for navigation.

'Tis the saying of Maximilian: "The Emperor of Germany was *Rex Regum*, the Spaniard *Rex Hominum*, the French *Rex Asinorum*, the English *Rex Diabolorum*." The original of the French were the Gauls (whose original is not well known), a warlike people, who sacked Rome, and carried their conquering army into Greece, where they inhabiting were called Gallo-Gretians, or Gallthians. After, they were subdued by Julius Cæsar, and made subject to the Roman Empire; and after, they invaded Gaul, and erected a monarchy, continuing to this day.

Italy lies on the South side of the Alps and Germany, lying North from the Island of Sicily and the Mediterranean. This country for the shape of it is likened to a long leaf of a tree, having a long hill going through the midſt of it like the backbone of a fish—the hill

being called Mons Apenninus. 'Twas formerly divided into many parts like so many shires in England, but now 'tis in four parts only; viz. Lombardy, Tuscany, the Land of the Church—which is the Pope's territory—and Naples. In this Italy, which in the flourishing time of the Romans was one entire government, are now many States and Princedoms; whereof one of the chiefeſt are the Venetians, whose chief city is Venice, which hath but one ſtreet of firm land in it, the sea flowing into the reſt every tide.

The Venetians have had greater possessions, but have loſt the islands of Cyprus and Candia, and many more, to the Turks. "Naples for nobility, Rome for religion, Milan for beauty, Florence for policy, and Venice for riches." So goes the old saying.

23: All the laſt night we were becalmed, but this morning a fair gale, which carries us smoothly over this long ſtretch; and this morning we fix our chasing-sail, or water-sail, at the poop of our ship to try how 'twill do againſt we have occasion to make use of it.

24: We had a fair gale all the laſt night, and by the clearness of the air we hope for the same to-day. No land to be seen, but we look out for Sardinia; but are not yet passed paſt the Gulf of Lyons, but we feel the effect of that place, though we are so far from it; for our ship rolls very much. Inſtead of punch this evening we drink healths to our friends in Mountain Alicante, which was bought with our ducking-monies,[55] and this is the firſt time of tapping.

(25): The hottest day we have had since we came into the Straits, and very little wind. We have a sermon on the same text: *Rom.*, viii, 28.

26: This morn brings with it a pleasant gale after our yesterday's calm; and this morning (as 'tis the use at sea) is Black Monday with the boys, who are many of them whipped with a cat with nine tails for their misdemeanours, by the boatswain's mate.[56] Our Captain and also Captain Mauris of the *Scipio*, are invited on board the *Unity*, and saluted at their coming off with five guns. The *Scipio* returns five, and we three. The *Unity* thanks us with one more, and bids good night to both.

27: Our pleasant gale held all night, and continues the same still, which brings us to the sight of Sardinia, an island lying high, and above half as big as England, but nothing so fruitful: notwithstanding, it hath in it good store of wine, corn, and cattle, and especially good hogs. Here is also store of silk, for now we are come into the silken country. And here we pass by the great Bay of Calary.[57]

28: This morn we come in view of the Barbary coasts, viz. Cape Marabout, on our starboard side, the kingdom of Tunis, famous for sorcerers. Here we strain our shrouds; and our Captain feasts the *Unity* and *Scipio* with good pork, beef, geese, ducks, hens, chickens; and, for sauce, plenty of good sack, Mountain Alicante, claret, white wine, and English ale, the greatest rarity of all. And this evening we are over against a small island called Zombino,[58] and near Cape Carthage. Here stood old Carthage, the

famous ſtructure of Queen Dido, of which Virgil gives a large account. The city is wholly sunk under water; insomuch that as you row in to go to Tunis, if you keep not the very channel, you may with ease see the walls of houses or pieces of towers, etc. There is ſtill remaining part of Queen Dido's tomb, of white and black marble, on a small rising, and several vaults, in the which the Moors make houses and dwell there underground. And in this place are taken great ſtore of mullets, of the roes of which, being only dried in the sun, the inhabitants make potargo,[59] the greateſt regalio of the Straits. These parts are very rich, having abundance of pulse of all sorts; poultry, cattle, fruits, rice, cottons, sugar, etc.

29: Having passed Cape Bona, we are in view of another island in the midſt of the sea, lying very high, and called Pantellaria; reported to be not inhabited, but we find it otherwise; for, discovering three sail afar off, we chase one of them especially, which makes to the island aforesaid. We chase her till we discover a great town on the North-West part of the island, with a fair caſtle, to which the ship (a Hollander, as we suppose) flies for shelter. The island seems to be a very fruitful place, but we cannot ſtay to see more by reason of our charge so far aſtern.

30: This morn we come in sight of Sicily (having but a small wind). A very fruitful island, ſtored with excellent wheat and all manner of good commodities, called by many the storehouse of provision for the Straits; and is counted the Queen of the Mediterranean for all good things; and is counted the

second island in the world for fruitfulness, giving the pre-eminence to England.

31: We are ſtill on the coaſts of Sicily, where we discover three sails, and down go our cheſts and hammocks to prepare for a combat; but they, as soon discover us, and do get out of our way as soon as possibly they can, steering towards Sicily. The evening drawing on, we end the month, week, and day, as we used to do on Saturdays.

Aug. 1ſt: This morn we come near Malta, or, as 'twas called formerly Melita, from the abundance of honey they have there, gathered by the bees from the aniseeds and flowers thereof, which grow on this island abundantly. Before we come to the city a boat with the Maltese flag in it comes to us to know whence we came. We told them from England; they asked if we had a bill of health for prattick,[60] viz. entertainment; our Captain told them that he had no bill but what was in his guns' mouths. We came on and anchored in the harbour between the old town and the new, about 9 of the clock; but muſt wait the Governor's leisure to have leave to come on shore; which was detarded, because our Captain would not salute the city except they would retaliate. At laſt came the Consul with his attendants to our ship (but would not come on board till our Captain had been on shore) to tell us that we had leave to come on shore six or eight or ten at a time, and might have anything that was there to be had; with a promise to accept our salute kindly. Whereupon our Captain took a glass of sack and drank a health to King Charles, and fired

seven guns: the city gave us five again; which was more than they had done to all our men-of-war that came thither before. This being done, our Captain sent his Lieutenant and some more of our gentlemen to salute the Grand Master[61], and to tell him that he would wait on him the next morning.

2: Much longing to see the inside of this famous place, accompanied [by] two more gentlemen and my man I went ashore; and went quite round about the city, and viewed the fortifications, which I cannot describe, the whole city being as it were one perfect rock, furnished with store of brass guns (not one of iron) of a vast bigness and length, some of them being twenty-three foot long. Here needs no sentry, for there is no getting over the outermost wall if leave were given. But, beside that, there are two wide and deep trenches, or dry moats, cut out of the main rock, one within the other, which are so deep they cannot be filled up, and so wide that there is no passing over them. And were an army of men in the midst of the city, yet their work were but in the beginning, for each house is a castle. Their storehouses for corn and other provisions are after the manner of wells, cut into the main rock twenty fathom deep and more, and very spacious in the bottom, but narrow at the top, and covered with a massy stone, and closed up with tarras.[62] And these they have in great numbers, and in several vacant places in the town, in which they have constantly corn and all other provisions beforehand for three hundred thousand men for three years.[63]

The hospital is a vaſt ſtructure, wherein their ſick and wounded lie. 'Tis ſo broad that twelve men may with ease walk abreaſt up the midſt of it; and the beds are on each side, ſtanding on four iron pillars, with white curtains and valance[64] and covering, extremely neat, and kept clean and sweet: the sick served all in silver-plate; and it contains above two hundred beds below, besides many spacious rooms in other quadrangles within, for the chief cavaliers and knights, with pleasant walks and gardens; and a ſtately house for the chief doctor and other his attendants.[65]

The Lazaretta (a place on purpose for such as are sick of the plague or other peſtilential diseases, which in regard of the heat of that country doth often rage there) lies close under their outermoſt wall, and is extremely neatly kept and provided for.

This city is compassed almoſt clean round with the sea, which makes several safe harbours for hundreds of ships. The people are generally extremely courteous, but especially to the English. A man cannot demonſtrate all their excellencies and ingenuities. Let it suffice to say thus much of this place: viz. Had a man no other business to invite him, yet it were sufficiently worth a man's coſt and pains to make a voyage out of England on purpose to see that noble city of Malta, and their works and fortifications about it. Several of their knights and cavaliers came on board us, six at one time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage, wishing us good success in our voyage; with whom I had much

discourse, I being the only entertainer, because I could speak Latin; for which I was highly esteemed, and much invited on shore again.

This day, to show our strength, all our ports are opened, and all our guns thrust out, as though we were going to fight; and our ship clothed throughout with new waist-cloths,[66] and new sails.

3: Our great guns are all drawn in again, and our ports caulked up, and we are providing to sail. Many come [from] shore to visit us, and almost all our men by turns go on shore, everyone desiring to see this famous place. 'Tis too long to relate all passages. Here we have excellent wine for 3d. a quart; musk-melons 1d. a-piece; cotton stockings for 9d. a pair.[67] Notwithstanding the vast strength of this place already, yet are they daily adding new works, especially on the outside of their harbour, where they have made one great fortification towards the sea of great strength, and do intend to bring the wall (whereon are already built a great height several great towers) quite about old Burgo, which will be of vast strength. This morning a boat of ladies with their music to our ship side, and bottles of wine with them. They went several times about our ship, and sang several songs very sweetly: very rich in habit, and very courteous in behaviour; but would not come on board, though invited; but, having taken their *frisco*,[68] returned as they came. After them came in a boat four friars, and came round about our ship, pulled off their hats and caps, saluted us with congees,[69] and departed. After them came a boat of musicians: played several lessons

as they rowed gently round about us, and went their way.

4: This morning our Captain was invited to dine with the Grand Maſter, which hindered our departure. In the meantime we have several of the Maltese come to visit us: all extremely courteous. And now we are preparing to sail for Tripoli. *Deus vortat bene!*

5: This morning we weigh our anchor, thinking to sail; but the wind failing, we had almost ran aground, and were forced to drop the anchor again suddenly, and were forced to tow her out; so that about 5 in the afternoon we crept out. And there we expected the settee[70] to come to us out of the weſtern harbour (a vessel which Captain Barber[71] took from the Tripolines,[72] and was sent from our fleet to fetch water), but she being not ready caused us to lie by all that night.

6: The settee coming up to us about 11 of the clock, the *Scipio* and the *Thomas & William* (both bound for Scanderoon) came under our ſtern, and both salute us; the firſt with three cheers and seven guns, whom we thank with five; the other with five guns we thank with three; and so all part.

> Thus we, th' *Aſſiſtance* and the new settee,
> Do ſteer our course point-blank for Tripoli;
> Our ship new rigg'd, well ſtor'd with pig and goose a,
> Hens, ducks, and turkeys, and wine call'd Syracusa.

7: This morn brings with it a fine small gale, which carries us on very smoothly towards the coaſts of

Tripoli to our flag; and now the evening drawing on, we end the week as formerly.

(8): This morning we come near the Barbary coasts, and within view of Tripoli, and see their ships lying in their harbour and close under the walls of their castle and city. Here we find only one of our English ships cruising about, viz. the *Newcastle*, a fourth-rate frigate, whom we salute with three cheers, and they answer in like manner. They tell us of our ships burning four of their brigantines, and the slaughter of many of the Turks on the shore by our great guns from our ships, which happened a few days before our coming; and then we sail along to our flag. The wind is so high that the *Newcastle's* main topsail was blown clear off just by us.

9: About 11 of the clock we come to our fleet, having a French settee with us, which informed of several things; where we find the *Henrietta*, our Admiral; *Newcastle*, *Dragon*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, *Mary Rose*, *Roebuck*, and our *Assistance* making them up eight. But the *Mary Rose* was then on the careen.[73]

10: Having sailed to and fro all the last day and night, this morning we sailed within musket-shot of the walls of Tripoli; but [they] did not fire a gun at any of us. Our Admiral came after us, and fell off towards the West side of the town, raking all the way as she went; and our ship went Eastward, and spent this day in sounding, to know where and how far from the shore the shoals or sands were.

11: This day we come also very near the town, sailing to and fro all the day. Also we are fortifying our

long-boat with barricadoes againſt we have occasion to use her; and at night we ſtand off to sea again.

12: At the same trade as before, keeping near Tripoli; but have no opposition, nor can we do any hurt to them as yet. A French settee comes out to our Admiral to desire his pass, who tells us that the Tripolines intend to treat for peace.

13: At the same trade ſtill; expecting every hour our fireships coming with the reſt of our men-of-war, already long looked for. This day dined aboard us Captain Wetwang,[74] Captain Fouler,[75] Captain Temple;[76] and were very merry with good meat and good wine.

14: Being calmed before the town, we were forced to let go an anchor, leſt we should drive on shore. The Turks were much alarmed because our ships ſtood all together yeſterday in the afternoon, and therefore they had several great fires all along the shore all night, and many this morning, fearing (as we were informed) that we had an intent to land upon them; but we can do nothing till more help cometh. About 3 of the clock we come all to an anchor within shot of their cannon, and they make not one shot at any of us; and we can count fourteen men-of-war in their harbour, besides settees and galleys and brigantines. We end the day as before, with Florence wine.

(15): We lie very quietly at anchor ſtill, and receive orders from our Admiral for all our ships and signs, as occasion may serve. I preach a sermon: text, *Rom.*, viii, 28: "To them that love God", etc.; and many gentlemen of other ships were on board us.

Orders for Sayling, from our Admirall Sir John Narbrough ;[77] *Signalls when I would speake with any Commaunder, etc.*

My Pendant on the
Mizon peake, for all the Commanders for a Councell of Warr.

My Pendant on the
Main topmaſt head, for Sir Roger Strickland,[78] Commander of the *Dragon.*

My Pendant on the
Fore topmaſt head, for Capt. Wetwang of the *Newcaſtle.*

My Pendant on the
Mizon topmaſt head, for Capt. Stout,[79] of the *Successe.*

My Pendant on the
Mizon top sayle yard arme, for Capt. Fouler[80] of the *Swallow.*
Fore yard arme, for Capt. Houlding of the *Aſſiſtance.*
Fore top sayle yard arme, for Capt. Temple[81] of the *Dartmouth.*
Maine yard arme, for Capt. [Richard Griffith[82]] of the *Diamond.*
Crojacke yard arme, for Capt. [William Copow[83]] of the *Mary Rose.*
Mizon top sayle yard arme, for Capt. Country[84] of the *Roe-Buck.*

My Pendant on the
Spritt sayle head, for Capt. [James Storey[85]] of the *Porchmouth.*
Sprit sayle yard arme, for Capt. [Richard Trevanion[86]] of the *Yarmouth.*
On the boome on the quarter, for Capt. Barbar of the Sattee.
Halfe up the ensigne ſtaff, for Capt. [Votiere[87]] of the *Ann and Christofer.* } Boath fyre-ſhips.
On the boome on the ſtarne, for Capt. [Williams[88]] of the *Holmes.* } Boath fyre-ſhips.
On the ensigne ſtaffe, for Capt. [Hugh Ridley[89]] of the *Wivenoe.*

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN NARBROUGH

(From the painting in possession of Mrs. Narbrough Hughes D'Aeth)

[*face p. 64*

SAILING ORDERS

When any of these signes are put abroade by his Majeſty's shipp *Henrietta*, the Commaunder is desyred to com to mee forth with: if he be sick, then to send his lieutenant, or next officer.

If by fowle weather wee seperate and can keepe the sea: before Trypoly is the place of meeting againe.

But in case of any inevitable diſtres befalls any one, that they can not keepe this sea, then Malta is appoynted for fitting and meeting againe; where orders will be lodged for their dyrections. And so God dyrect us!

Given under my hand, on board his Majeſty's shipp the *Henrietta*, at sea before Trypoly, Aug. 12, 1675.

JOHN NARBROUGH.

16: This morn (as we lie at anchor) four slaves ventured to swim from the shore to our ships, to make their escapes; whereof one of them was overtaken by a Tripoli boat, and carried back to be miserably tortured. The other three came on board us; one of them, almoſt dead, being taken up by the Admiral's boat; the other two were took up by our boat. One of them had got a piece of an old rail and a goat-skin, which he had tied together at both ends and blowed it full of wind, and made it faſt to the old rail: with that engine they came safe on board. Two of them were Greeks, and the other a Frenchman. This evening, the wind being high, we weigh, and ſtand farther off to sea.

17–18: The sea is very turbulent, insomuch that our ship had almoſt fallen foul on one of our companions, and many of our men are sea-sick.

19: We ſtand Eaſtward all day, and back again in

the evening. And after the same rate we are cruising to and fro East from Tripoli till

20: This evening we come to our fleet again, nothing having been done all this while; and we all come to an anchor within shot of the walls, our ship lying nearest the walls, within pistol-shot.

21: This morning very early our pinnace chased five of the Tripolines to the mouth of their harbour; yet they did not fire a gun. In the evening our ship changed her berth, and anchored on the West side of the town; and drink to our friends in Florence and Syracusa wine.

(22): This morn by one of the clock our pinnace and three more went a-cruising; and in a frolic Sir John himself, with those that were in the boats, went all upon the Turks' shore, and there displayed the English colours, and came on board again. Several shots were made on both sides, at a great distance. I preached a sermon this day: text, *Exod.*, viii, 1. And to distinguish this day from the rest, as also to vex the Turks, our ships are all filled with pendants.

23: We are still at anchor, but change our berth now and then. The Tripolines are busy in making new fortifications. Two more slaves swim to us to-day. And I went on board our Admiral on purpose to see my brother, Mr Franklen; where Sir John himself bade me very welcome, and used me very civilly.

24: This morn the settee returns to us with some necessaries from Malta. This day we chased a galley of thirty-eight oars many leagues: not finding her

to be a prize, we only secured the Captain and the Master for farther trial.

25: And this morning we sent them to their vessel again; but the Tripolines would give her no relief at all. I drank Mall Walker's bottle.[90]

26: We are in our old posture. The *Dartmouth* and *Swallow* go for Malta.

27: Our ship alone is ordered to cruise Westward from Tripoli.

28: Towards evening the last night we discover a vessel belonging to the Tripolines thrust between two rocks, and many Moors lying behind the rocks to guard her: at which we made several great shot; but the evening coming suddenly on, caused us to stand off; till, in the morning early, having the *Roebuck*, a small ship come to us, which could go much nearer the rocks than we, we having beaten off the Turks, send in our pinnace and long-boat, and pull their vessel in pieces, and carry away as much as we could to burn for our use. And, towards evening, we being bound to cruise Westward, drink to our friends in a lemonade.

A RELATION OF THIS COMBAT

Composed (for want of better employment) before Tripoli Aug. 31, 1675.

No noble acts of Hector I
Nor Priamus do sing;
But joyful news from Tripoli
To England I do bring.

A SAILOR'S SONG

An English frigate trim and tight,
  Cruising with merry glee,
Well furnished with men of might
  An hundred fifty three.

And five and twenty guns she had
  Well mounted on each side;
Which, when they once began to roar,
  The Turks could not abide.

Upon the seven and twentieth day
  Of Auguſt seventy five,
That man was wise that thus could say:
  "This day I'll be alive."

Our fleet we leave; along we sail
  The coaſts of Barbary,
Not far from shore with pleasant gale
  Weſtward from Tripoli.

"A prize! a prize!" our Captain cries,
  "A prize I surely see;
Beyond those rocks a vessel lies,
  Belongs to Tripoli.

"And now with me, my merry hearts,
  Your courage forth advance,
And show yourselves brave English sparks,
  What ever be our chance."

Then in we make near to the shore,
  Our great shot we let fly;
The thunder of our cannons roar
  Farther then Tripoli.

A SAILOR'S SONG

The country round the alarm took,
And suddenly came in;
And numbers great of horse and foot
Upon the sands were seen:

Who well requite our courtesy,
And, like splenetic men,
For every bullet we let fly
They freely sent us ten.

Our English valiantly abide,
No fears discourage them,
Although the Turkish rocks do hide
Their vessel and their men.

You merry, mincing seamen's wives
That sit at home secure
N'er thinking of your husbands' lives,
What they on seas endure;

Lament, lament with doleful cheer,
Whilſt so much time is left,
For many of your husbands dear
Are of their lives bereft.

Pinnace and longboat now well manned
Do boldly venture in,
Twice forcing near the rocks and sand,
And twice forc'd back again.

Long laſted this same cruel fight,
Which ran with bloody ſtreams
Until the sun, that weſtern light,
Withdrew his glorious beams:

Which gave the Turks that liberty
To carry off their cargo;
Some say 'twas full of wheat and rye,
And pots of rich potargo.[91]

No sooner did the morn break forth
But we renew the theme,
And fall upon the Turks as with
Goliath's* weaver's beam.

Our great guns and our musketeers,
And our peteraroes[92] humming,
The bullets flew about their ears—
They thought the Devil was coming.

Then soon we force those craggy rocks
With Turkish blood all drunk;
Whereas we find, with sturdy knocks,
Their famous vessel sunk.

Enraged then (without delay)
That we had loſt our hopes,
We haul up and we carry away
The decks, the maſt, the ropes.

The Turks they took it in great snuff,
And sorely were offended;
But we did carry off their ſtuff,
And so the battle ended.

God bless King Charles; the Duke of York;
The Royal Family;
From Turks and Jews that eat no pork
Good Lord deliver me!

*MS. Gholya's 'Goliath . . . the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.'—2 *Sam.*, 21. See also Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, 5, i: 'I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam.'

(29): The last night the sea was very troublesome, but something more calm this morning; and we are on the main; no land is to be seen. As we sailed, a vessel belonging to Tripoli, thinking that we had discovered her, ran herself ashore, and split herself all in pieces, as we were credibly informed.

30: Now we are at Tripoli Vicha, as they call it; the place where old Tripoli did stand formerly,[93] but was destroyed by the Turks, whose policy it is to suffer but one great town or garrison in a country in which [they] themselves will inhabit. And hereabout we are cruising till finding no prize at all;

Sept. 3rd: This morning we come again before Tripoli, and see our four ships (for we had no more there then) making up towards us. And Sir John's pinnace going very near the shore was shot at by some of the Moors. He (discovering where they lay, behind a small rise like a windmill hill) sent two of his men to rouse them, and commanded his men in his boat to present; and as soon as the two Englishmen came near them the Turks ran, but the English fired after them, and killed three in the place.

4: Now our ship is again where we had the combat a week since. Four Greeks come on board us from the Tripoli prize, or settee. We end the day and week according to our old custom.

(5): We are in our station, viz. on the West of Tripoli, sailing to and fro, but cannot see one of our fleet. I preached a sermon: text, *Exod.*, viii, 2.

6: And this trade we drive, seeing no ship till

7: This morn by 7 a-clock we discover some of our fleet again.

8: Now about 7 of the clock two lusty ships are coming out of the harbour of Tripoli in the sight of all our fleet. Everyone makes ready to fight them; but immediately there fell a thick mist between them and us, that we could not see them just when they came out. They had also a fresh gale, and we scarce so much wind as would stir a ship. Two of our ships that were cruising Eastward did almost meet them, and one of them, viz. the *Dartmouth*, made some shot at them—but all in vain, for they clearly outsailed us all; insomuch that by 3 of the clock they had ran us all quite out of sight.

9: We lie East from the town, and are in hopes some of our ships that come from Malta may meet them. They were the prime sailers.

10: We are still in our station, and have rubbed our ship, to sail better against more of them come out, for we see more of them preparing. And the reason was this (as heard afterwards): for when Sir John went on shore himself, one of his men ran from him to the Turks and told them that we did expect some fire-ships to come to us every day; which they were much afraid of, and that forced them out.

11: We expected, but none came out this last night. We drink wine, etc.

(12): The council of war yesterday was concerning the *Success* going for England, being no longer able to abide the sea.[94] And our ship and the *Dartmouth* are ordered to follow the two Turks which brake out

from us, and receive provision out of the *Success* for the purpose; and were sailing forwards, but were commanded back. I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 2.

13: A hal[f]-galley[95] from Jarbee came in to us *nolens volens*, pretending to be bound for the Levant and intended only to water at Tripoli; but our Admiral secures her for the present.

14: The *Success* takes leave, and is going for England; but is presently commanded back, for we suppose the Tripolines are coming out, and their Marabouts make fogs for that purpose. Two of them got out the last night, and are gone. The *Dragon* is come to us from Malta. And the *Success* gone for England, the settee accompanying her to Malta, and to bring us back fresh water.

15: This morning our Admiral and our *Assistance*, and the *Roebuck* (to view what shipping was yet in their harbour) came very near to their new fort. They fired one gun at the Admiral's ship; and he gave them one also, and no more. No hurt of either side done.

16: The result of yesterday's consultation was concerning the safety of our merchants; especially considering that four stout ships that we knew of were broken out of Tripoli. Therefore our Admiral strips himself to his shirt; viz. he stays before the town only with three ships more (till the rest of our shipping come to him, whose so long delay hath been extremely prejudicial to the design), viz. the *Newcastle*, *Swallow*, *Roebuck*; and commands the *Dragon*, *Assistance*, *Dartmouth* to the Arches[95*] to pursue the Turks. There we

are to part; and they two for Smyrna, and our ship for Scanderoon.[96] Our Captain's absence from the small fleet left behind being much lamented; but none so fit for such a dangerous voyage as he. About 2 in the morning we ſtand Eaſt, and bid adieu. At 11 we have a great shower of rain: we had none since we were off the Bay of Biscay till this day.

This morn we bid adieu to Tripoli,
Who rather like our room than company.
But have you seen the gentle turtle-dove,
How she laments the absence of her love?
Or have you seen the glorious morning sun
Triumphing joyfully his course to run?
So ſtands our fleet, four mournful Heroclites, viz.
Our Admiral and those his worthy wights.
But the *Aſſiſtance*, *Dragon*, *Dartmouth* make
A squadron ſtout, and to the Arches take
Their course with joy (like Rome's trium-viri),
Not fearing all the force of Tripoli.
Our Captain's presence (like the morning sun)
Makes us rejoice—his absence ſtrikes them dumb.
Thus Israel's pillar, thus Epirus' spring,
To us gives light—to them doth darkness bring.

17: The wind being very small, we ſtand North-Eaſt, and make way very slowly.

18: The like this day, too. But we end the day as before, etc.

(19): No wind. I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 2. A small gale now.

20–4: Calmed from this day till 24th, when we have a gale.

25: This morning we come to the islands of Zante on the ſtarboard, and Cephalonia on the larboard ſide; the laſt whereof is exceeding high land; but the wind will not let us come in as yet. These islands are both under the Venetians, and are the next land to the Turks, who are but juſt across the water, which is but few leagues over. These are not held by the Venetians from the Turks by any ſtrength (though at Zante there is a ſtrong caſtle), but by a yearly ſtipend or present paid to the Turk. These islands are very famous for currants, of which there is great plenty; as also of oil-olive, but especially at Zante, where their oil is kept in wells many fathoms in the rocks, and is in them candid as it will be here in a jar or bottle. On the point of the hill or higheſt part of Cephalonia, there lay a white cloud all the day long, and the top of the hill appeared much higher over the cloud, which a man that had not seen it would not believe. The same I saw at Pantellaria and in many other places, the tops of the hills higher than the clouds. Before 10 at night we come to an anchor under the caſtle at Zante, where news was suddenly brought to us on board that the four Tripolines whom we pursued were gone by toward the Arches three days before. We drink to our friends in good rubola.[97]

(26): The laſt night's news causeth our ſtay here to be very short: all our time is spent in preparing our cask for freshwater, and for beverage-wine. No time for prayers to-day. Five Venetian men-of-war came in this morning, and told us that they saw the four

Tripolines in the Arches. We fetch in freshwater all night.

27: We weigh anchor at 9, and ſtay awhile for our barges coming from ſhore; and then we leave Zante ſomewhat unwillingly.

The harbour of Zante (if I may call it ſo) lies much like a horſeſhoe, encompaſſed on both ſides or hemmed in with rocky mountains, excepting the toe of it, where ſtand on that flat ten windmills at leaſt. On the Weſtern ſide ſtands the town, from the hill to the waterſide; and part of it as it were climbing up the hill, though it be very ſteep. The caſtle ſtands on the very top of the hill, on the North-Weſt ſide, having a very ſtrong wall about it, of great compaſs, and ſeven windmills before it towards the town, ſome of them having eight ſails.

The town is but little; the houſes very low, in regard of the earthquakes, which much annoy them, and very often. The inhabitants are Greeks for the moſt part: they have ſeveral pretty faſhions, but eſpecially at their wedding. When a young woman is to be married, there are choſen two men to be her leaders to the church who may have been diſtruſted to be more familiar with her than they ſhould have been; and theſe are then to be her ſecretaries, and of cabinet counſel, being ſuch as will by no means be any way diſhoneſt; for 'tis counted the greateſt crime in the world to forfeit their truſt or to be any way diſhoneſt then, whatever of familiarity was between them before.[98] Here are ſtore of currants and pome-citrons, and ſome few

lemons and oranges: excellent ſtrong wines, both white and red.[99]

A Relation of some Passages happening when we were at Zante; where we tried which wine[100] *was the beſt; viz. of that which we had at Malta or that which we found then at Zante. Composed September* 28.

I. Two great commanders at this place fell out,
A Malta gallant and a Grecian ſtout;
True Trojans both, equal for birth and valour,
Small difference in habit or in colour;
Ambitious only which should have the honour
To fight the Turks under the English banner.

II. Brave Syracusa, Malta's warlike knight,
Displays his bloody flag much like a wight
Of peerless courage (drawing forth his forces,
Whose colours all were red, both foot and horses).
Thus Hector once, that noble son of Priam,
Dared out the Grecian lads, only to try 'um.

III. Rubola, bold as ere was Alexander,
At this place was the merry Greeks' commander;
Like a ſtout champion and a man of might
Set up his ſtandard, which was red and white.
Thus Ajax with Ulysses had a fray
Which should Achilles' armour bear away.

IV. Whilſt these two combatants with large pretences
Do praise, and boaſt, and brag their excellences,
Our English squadron, being much in wrath,
Vowed by St George to be revenged on both.
Thus Jove enraged, with thunder-bolts controlled
The daring giants, 'cause they were so bold.

V. Th' *Aſſiſtance, Dragon, Dartmouth,* all consent
As firm as by an Act of Parliament;
And quickly too, because they were no ſtarters,
Surprised Syracusa in his quarters:
Whilſt suddenly our gentry on the shore
Spared not to turn Rubola o'er and o'er.

VI. But two to one is odds, and so we found,
For many of our men were run aground:
Some would have ſtole away, but could not ſtand;
Some were aboard, and could not get to land;
Some loſt their feeling, and ('twas ſtrange to see't)
They went as well upon their heads as feet.

VII. Some would have fought, but, lifting up their hands
Scarce to their heads, fell backwards on the sands:
One loſt his hearing; another could not see
Which was his friend or which his enemy:
And, having loſt those senses which they had,
They whooped and holloa'd as they had been mad.

VIII. Some by their friends were carried to their hammocks,
And bed-rid lay, with pains in sides and ſtomachs;
With fiery faces, and with aching brain,
Their hands all dirt, their pulses beat amain;
Which when the doctor did but touch would spue
Good Syracusa and Rubola too.

IX. Some talk, and swear like men in frantic fits,
Whose vain discourse did much outrun their wits;
Some were ſtroke dumb, not able to afford
Their minds or meanings by a sign or word;
Some, loth to speak, made signs, whose silent speeches
Shewed the disease was sunk into their breeches.

X. Some so outrageous that the corporal
Was forced to cloiſter them in bilboes-hall;[101]
Some, seized[102] to th' mainmaſt, do their backs expose
To th' nine-tailed cat or cherriliccum's blows;[103]
Some ready to be ducked, some left ashore,
And many mischiefs I could tell you more.

XI. The ſtrangeness of their weapons, and their number,
Caused us to lose the day, the field, the plunder:
The English used to fight with swords and guns,
But here they met with barrels, butts, and tuns.
Boaſt now no more: you see what odds will do;
Hector himself would never fight with two.

H. T.

28: This morning one of our men, viz. Skinner, a known cuckold, for going on shore without leave had his legs tied together, his hands tied to a great rope, and ſtood on the side of the ship to be hoiſted up to the yardarm, and from thence to drop down into the water three times;[104] but he, looking so very pitifully, and also by the gentlemen's entreaties to the Captain for him, who alleged that he had injuries enough already as having a wife a whore and a scold to injure him at home, *ergo* had the more need to be pitied abroad, was spared.

Now we are on the coaſts of Sancta Maura, or Morea, so much commended by Sir Philip Sidney for its fruitfulness and pleasant merriness of the inhabitants, and were hence called " merry Greeks ". 'Tis *pæne insula*, almoſt an island, made by the Gulf Lepanto, which running between the Albanian shore and Sta. Maura, doth divide it, and make an island of

it; only 'tis linked by a neck of land five miles. This Gulf of Lepanto was the place into the which the remainder of the Turkish fleet was once forced by the Venetians; who, knowing that they had them in a pinfold out of which they could by no means return, laid some vessels in the mouth of the Gulf to keep them in, and then pursued some other scattered galleys. And when the Venetians came up the Lepanto the next day to seize[105] on their prey, they found neither man nor galley, for that night the Turks had drawn their galleys over that neck of land, and what they could not draw over they sunk in the place; and so secured all, by being now in the Arches, whither the Venetians could not come suddenly, being seventy leagues off at leaſt. This Maura was the habitation of the merry Greeks, but now the Turks have it; and it lies the next to the Chriſtian shore, viz. Zante and Cephalonia.

Greece is bounden on the Weſt with the Adriatic Sea; on the Eaſt by the Thracian Sea; on the South by the main Mediterranean; on the North by Hungary. And Grecia containeth Peloponnesus, Achaia, Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyricum Peloponnesus, now called Maura, or rather Morea, which is Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia'.

In the South part of this country ſtood Sparta and Lacedaemon; and Sparta and Athens were called the two edges of Greece, and were very often at wars one with the other. Here ſtood the city of Corinth, called 'the Key of Greece'. At the end of Morea beginneth Achaia, spreading North but to the hill

Othris, but East and West much longer. These are the people which Virgil calls Achivi; and here stood Boeotia and Athens, looking Southward towards Morea. In this part of Greece stood Parnassus and Helicon, Phocis, Thebes, and all that Livy calls *Urbes Achæorum.*

Epirus lies West of Achaia, and lies narrow along the seacoasts, looking Southwards on the islands Conejera and Cephalonia. Here lived Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great. This was the kingdom of Pyrrhus, and of Scanderbeg the great enemy of the Turks, who tormented the Turks more with a handful of men than others did with ten times his number.

Macedonia, the greatest part of Greece, lies East of it, and looking towards Asia Minor. This was the country so famous for Philip and Alexander his son who conquered the whole world. Here stood the hill Athos, and Olympus, the city of Philippi, Ampolonia, Amphipoles, Edessa, Pella, Thessalonica, Berea, and the whole country of Thessalia. From Grecia came the first learning to the Romans: hence came Homer, Hesiodus, Sophocles, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and the great orators Demosthenes, Aeschines; and all the mathematics excepting what came from the Chaldees and Egyptians.

Thracia standeth on the North-East part of Grecia: and here very near the edge of the seacoast, very near unto Asia, stands Byzantium, now Constantinople, because new built by Constantine the Great. This was formerly the residence of the Emperor of Greece,

but now itself and all Greece is in the dominion of the Turks.

29: But to return to where I left. This day we are ſtill on the coaſts of Morea and almoſt at the point which leads into the Arches, and have a fresh gale. After 3 in the afternoon, over againſt Matapan, we part with the *Dragon* and *Dartmouth*, who are bound for Smyrna; and our ship alone sails undauntedly for Scanderoon, though we do absolutely conclude that about Candia we shall meet with the four Tripolines. We salute them with seven guns; they answer with as many; and we ſtand South-Eaſt and by South. *Progressum Deus bene fortunet!*

30: A brave gale all night, which brought us this morning near Candia to a small island called Gozo, and another a little more Eaſtward called Anti-Gozo. More mirth at dinner this day than ever since we came on board. The wind blew very hard, and we had to dinner a rump of Zante beef, a little salted and well roaſted. When it was brought into the cabin and set on the table (that is on the floor, for it could not ſtand on the table for the ship's tossing), our Captain sent for the Maſter, Mr Fogg,[106] and Mr Davis, to dine with himself and myself, and the Lieutenant and the Purser. And we all sat close round about the beef, some securing themselves from slurring[107] by setting their feet againſt the table, which was faſt tied down. The Lieutenant set his feet againſt the bed, and the Captain set his back againſt a chair which ſtood by the side of the ship. Several tumbles we had, we and our plates, and our knives slurred oft together. Our

liquor was white rubola, admirable good. We had also a couple of fat pullets; and, whilſt we were eating of them, a sea came, and forced into the cabin through the chinks of a port-hole, which by looking behind me I juſt discovered when the water was coming under me. I soon got up, and no whit wet; but all the reſt were well washed, and got up as faſt as they could, and laughed one at the other. We drank the King's and Duke's healths, and all our wives particularly; and came out at 2 a-clock, and were come as far as Sugar Loaf Hill in Candia. Several seas come over our ship, and cause much mirth to see the water flee as high as the mainmaſt, and to wash as many as was under it. The Weſtern part of Candia is very high ground, and the Eaſtern part low; but the higheſt ground of all is near the middle of the island, where 'tis as if you should—*imponere Pelion Ossæ;* viz. one very high Sugar Loaf turret, on the top of a long and exceeding high mountain, and therefore called Sugar Loaf Hill; which was full North from us at 4 a-clock.

A SONNET[108]

Composed October the 1ſt, over againſt the Eaſt part of Candia.

O! Ginny was a bonnie lass,
  Which makes the world to wonder
However it should come to pass
  That we did part asunder.

The driven snow, the rose so rare,
  The glorious sun above thee,
Cannot with my Ginny compare,
  She was so wondrous lovely.

A BONNIE LASS

Her merry looks, her forehead high,
  Her hair like golden wire,
Her hand and foot, her lip or eye,
  Would set a saint on fire.

And for to give Ginny her due,
  There's no ill part about her;
The turtle-dove's not half so true:
  Then who can live without her?

King Solomon, wher'er he lay,
  Did ne'er embrace a kinder:
O! why should Ginny gang away,
  And I be left behind her?

Then will I search each place and room
  From London to Virginny,
From Dover pier to Scanderoon,
  But I will find my Ginny.

But Ginny's turned back I fear,
  When that I did not mind her;
Then back to England will I ſteer,
  To see where I can find her.

And having Ginny once again,
  If she'll do her endeavour,
The world shall never make us twain—
  We'll live and die together.

H. T.

Oct. 1ſt: We are paſt Candia, but yet part of it is in our ſight. Now we put up our ſtudding-ſails, to make the more haſte to Cyprus.

2: A fine gale ſtill, but no ſight or news of the Tripolines. We do this evening remember our friends in England in good rubola.

(3): This morning we diſcover two ſails ahead of us. We view them at a diſtance, and obſerve how they ſtand. They ſeemed not at all to make away from us, which makes us abſolutely believe they were Turks; which cauſeth us to prepare for a fight. Every man in the ſhip ſeemed to be very joyful of an encounter, and accordingly we make everything ready. Our main-yard and fore-yard ſlung with chains; quarter-deck armed; everything ready. They ſtirred not at all, but lay ready to receive us. Our Captain commands to put out our ancient, jack and pendant: ſays he: "We'll ſhow them what we are." They did not ſo much as edge from us, but were in the ſame mind to fight and as ready as were ourſelves. They then ſeemed to open a little one from the other, as though they would fight us one on the one ſide and the other on the other ſide of us. We with our trumpets ſounding and hailing them ſteered our courſe directly between them. Juſt at that inſtant we diſcover them to be Maltese by their white croſs, and they know us to be Engliſh by our red croſs; and, being now come cloſe together, the firſt ſalutes us with three guns, bullets and all, and immediately puts off his boat and comes on board us; whom we alſo anſwer with three guns. The other ſalutes us with ſeven, and we return ſeven again. Some of them come on board of us, and our Captain makes them very welcome; and, becauſe we were made ſo welcome at Malta, we ſpare them

some barrels of powder, which they wanted very much; and so we part, and keep on our course. This day I hanselled[109] my new cassock, but had no time for prayers.

4: This morning (having had a prosperous gale all night) we are in sight of that famous island of Cyprus, once in the possession of the English;[110] and a very plentiful island, stored with good things.

5: At 2 of the clock we come to an anchor in twenty fathom water, in the bay of Saline, or Salamis, as *Acts*, xiii, 5, where we found one French ship, and four sloops lying close under their fortification.

This is the very place where the Turks landed when they took Nicossia, and afterwards the whole island. And this island of Cyprus lies in the farthermost part of the Mediterranean; and hath on the East Syria,[111] to which some authors say it was formerly joined in *terra firma;* on the West Pamphylia; on the South Egypt; and on the North Caramania, called of old Cilicia. 'Tis seven hundred miles in compass, in length two hundred miles, and in the broadest part not above seventy miles over.[112] 'Tis of a very good air, though some contradict it; and produces almost all things belonging to human life (as says Paulo Paruta)[113] in great abundance—yea, though the fifth part of their ground be not tilled, and the one half of that too lies fallow every other year.

Besides corn in abundance, this island yields store of excellent good wine both white and red, sugar, cottons, saffron, capers; salt-pits in abundance, and mines of the most precious metals. Here is found a

silk-ſtone[114] (as they call it), much like to black-lead in ſhow, and is as heavy: ſcrape it, and you would think the ſcrapings of it were pure ſilk; and, if you put the ſcrapings of it into the flame of a candle, it will look as red as the ſnuff itſelf of the candle; but pull it out of the flame again, and it returns to its own colour again, and is no whit altered by the fire. This I ſaw ſeveral times. Here is alſo that rare thing called *terra ſigillata*, got (with a great deal of ceremony) by opening one peculiar place in the earth, where it doth come up in one night's time, like that which dew-worms throw up, and but one particular night in the whole year. Of this they take ſuch a quantity as will laſt them one whole year, and then with as much ceremony cloſe up the earth again. Of this the Grand Seigneur is preſented firſt with a great ſhare, and after that, ſome others of the great ones; and after, ſome for other countries.[115]

So that, by reaſon of its plenty of precious things, 'twas formerly called Macharia, 'Bleſſed'. Here is plenty of locuſt and wild honey, which the inhabitants will carry about in a wooden platter, or tray, and proffer you a piece on a knife as you walk the ſtreets, not asking anything for it: it looks almoſt like reſin, but do but touch it and it melts. The poets feign[116] Venus to have been born here, and to delight to live here as in her neſt: therefore the Cyprians built her a temple at Paphos, in honour of their goddeſs.

'Tis credibly reported as a tradition among the Greeks that dwell on that iſland, and much lamented too, that of their ſilk-ſtone (which I ſpake of before in

this page) the Cyprians did make an excellent sort of silk, which is not again to be found in the world, and did weave it there. But now that art is quite loſt; for there was a time when that island was so peſtered with small venomous creatures, much like our efts or newts, that with the annoyance and their ſtinging of the people, as also by a sore disease caused as it was thought by the noisome smell of those creatures, which breed innumerably, for want of the rain which had used to fall there, but then did not for a long time together, that whole island was depopulated, and lay so thirty years together, till a way was invented to kill those venomous creatures, which they did by abundance of cats, which were turned loose and became wild, and bred very much, and fed upon those creatures. At that time the art of making silk of their silk-ſtone was loſt, and never yet recovered. There is at this time excellent pieces of silk of several sorts woven there, as also the fineſt diaper—indeed of all sorts, for they have an excellent art in the making of those commodities.

This island was the seat of nine kings formerly, and had in it thirty cities, of which there ſtill remain many worthy memorables of their priſtine grandeza,[117] both maritime and inland. In the year 1122 it was recovered from the Saracens by the Chriſtians, and joined to the kingdom of Jerusalem; till Richard the Firſt, king of England, sold the seigneurity of it to the Knights Templars; and by them 'twas sold to Guido Lusignano, who was driven from Jerusalem to this island, and was the firſt Latin Lord there, whose son succeeded him, and by permission from the Pope made

it a kingdom ; where twelve kings reigned successively in peace (excepting only Famagusta, possessed by the Genoese). At last it was given by the undoubted heiress of it, Katharina Cornaro,[118] to the Commonwealth of Venice, who held it till the year 1572, at which time it was most barbarously taken from them by Selino, the son of Soliman the great Turk.

To come to our voyage again. As soon as we came to Saline Bay, our Lieutenant and Purser went to the shore to buy some beverage-wine and some other things which we wanted. The things were all made ready, but not suffered to come off till we had paid anchorage, which our Captain denied, and our goods were kept on shore. This evening was very much thunder and lightning, and abundance of rain ; and none had fallen there of seven months before. After the rain there came a sweet smell from shore, as of new-cut herbs or hay, which did prove very ominous, for some of our men fell sick that very night ; and that week we had one hundred at least down at once, but not one died.

6 : We thought our things would have been sent off this morning ; but being denied we are under sail at 4 for Scanderoon.

7 : A strong North-East wind clean contrary to our course.

8 : And so it continues, for by it we are driven near Egypt, and on the coasts of the land of Canaan, which at first sight we took to be Syria. Now we pass by near Joppa, and in sight of Mount Lebanon.

9 : And now we are near the Bay of Antioch, but we

cannot see the city because the Bay is so deep. Above half of our men are fallen desperately sick, but none die.

(10): A contrary wind again drives us back. Here begins the mountain Taurus, that runs from hence to the East Indies, and is divided but twice all that long way. Now we are close under Cape Porcus, or Hog Hill:[119] where I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 3. As we passed by Joppa, we saw the Mount Carmel with ease.

11–12: We have at the last passed by Cape Porcus, and are got into the great bay, the bottom or farthermost part of the Mediterranean; but that wind that is, is against us.

13: Here, by reason of the reflexion from the hills, we are so hot that [we] can hardly endure our clothes on our backs; yet the tops of some of the hills are covered with snow.

14: And here we lie becalmed all this while, and very hot; and now we tow in our ship, for we can get her in no other way. And at 4 in the afternoon we come to an anchor in Scanderoon Road;[120] where we find three ships at anchor. The *Scipio*, who salutes us with five guns; we return three; she thanks us with one more. The *Thomas & William* gave us three guns; we answered with one. The third was a Venetian, and gave us seven guns; and we returned five. Then went our Lieutenant and Purser on shore, to see what provision or liquor was to be got. The Consul, Mr Low, came on board to welcome us, and brought fowls and herbs to us. At his going off we

gave him five guns, and our trumpets sounding "*Maids where are your hearts*", etc.

15: We are busy in mending our ship; and in the afternoon we change our berth for our better conveniency somewhat nearer the shore.

16: We fetch ballaſt. And so we do this day, and at night drink healths to our friends in England.

(17): A sermon: *Jerem.*, xvii, 10.

18: Empty cask carried on shore to be mended and sweetened.

19–20: I went ashore, and was kindly entertained by the Consul (Mr Lowe) and Mr Betten.

21: This day about one hundred of our men go a-wooding; but they had leave firſt given them from the Gaw of Scanderoon.

22: Nothing done but going to and fro to shore and from shore. But on Wednesday laſt fell much rain, with thunder and lightning; and we all saw several spouts, both drawn up from the sea and also fall into the sea again. But especially we saw one great spout drawn up out of the bay, and carried to land; and we saw it break and fall on the side of a hill, making to our sight a very great smoke. It fell near the house of a servant to the Cadi, and drove it down, and also carried it and all in it away, with himself, his wife, and two children. The woman was this day found at Asshen Point (not above a league from us) beaten all in pieces.

23: We cleave, and cut, and saw wood; and drink healths to our wives and friends in England in good racckee.[121] This evening was an unhappy chance.

Our long-boat being fetching water all day, at the evening as they were coming off fired a musket (as the crew say) only to light a match. Three Turks were on the shore, and the bullet came very near them, as they say; but to make the matter ten times worse, the Turks haſte to Scanderoon, and complain to the Gaw (viz. the chief man and Governor there) that our men had set upon them, and robbed them of money and clothes. Hereupon the Turks ran to our Consul's, and if they had not shut their gates 'tis thought they had pulled down the house. This caused much trouble, so that we durſt scarce come on the shore till it was appeased. And though all the business was a mere invention of the Turks, yet it coſt our merchants of Aleppo three hundred dollars.

(24): I preached a sermon againſt hypocrisy: *Jerem.*, xvii, 10.

25: I bought a pair of black shoes and a pair of red slippers for one dollar.

26: Our maſts are scraped and tallowed. And so this day also.

27: This day about 3 of the clock came the chief Cadi of this country, and the Gaw of Scanderoon, and all their train, on board us to see our ship. And our Captain, having notice of it, put her in a poſture as if we were going to fight, viz. our trumpets sounding—pendant, all colours all flying; our guns all run out of their ports; garlands lay in all places filled with shot, round and double-headed; tubs full of cartridges and wads ſtood by, and cowls full of water, etc.; and

a file of musketeers ſtretched from the ſtand to the great cabin. At which the Turk ſtood amazed, seeing such guns and such provision of all things, and having never seen an English man-of-war before. At their coming in we gave them five guns, and as many at their departure: many of them for fear ſtopped their ears. This day many families of the Arabians came by us with their flocks, there being a great scarcity of provision in that country.

A pigeon was sent from Scanderoon to Aleppo this day, to give notice of a French merchant that came in to-day. 'Tis diſtant sixty miles.[122]

28–30: We spend in scraping and tallowing our ship. At night drink racckee.

(31): I preached a sermon: *Luke*, xiii, 7.

Nov. 1ſt: Captain Mauris and Captain North[123] come from Aleppo to us, and are welcomed on board us with nine guns.

2: We tallow all the decks, maſts, and yards.

3: We scrape our quarter-deck, mend sails, and fetch butts from shore. At 5 a-clock came the Great Bashaw from the Grand Seigneur, and many more brave Turks with him to see our ship: we entertained him with our trumpets and seven guns, and seven at his going. He goes his circuit[124] every year in the nature of one of our judges, to hear grievances and to do juſtice, and to inquire into the ſtate of all affairs in his circuit once a year. And so the great Turk sends [one] of these men every year throughout all his territories. This Bashaw hath five hundred horse attending on him, and goes in great ſtate,

and is as it were in the nature of an English Colonel, but that he hath also the power of life and death at his own pleasure.

4: Some rain this morning. At 11 a-clock the Venetian ship came under our ſtern; saluted us with eleven guns. We return five, and departed.

5: This day dined with us Consul Low, Mr Betten, Mr Barrow, and Captain Mauris, and Captain North. After grace our Captain began a health to Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, in good luke-sherry: and in honour of the day fired thirteen guns, the laſt with a shot in her. The *Scipio* gave eleven, and the *Thomas & William* nine, making Scanderoon to shake again.

6: Nothing to-day, but drink to our friends in England in racckee[125] at night.

(7): I preached a sermon: *Luke*, xiii, 7: "Then said he", etc.

8: I began to knit my silk girdle.

9: I was invited to dinner with our Captain, and our Doctor, our Purser, Captain Mauris, and Captain North, to our Consul's on shore, where we had a prince-like dinner; and every health that we drank every man broke the glass he drank in; so that before night we had deſtroyed a whole cheſt of pure Venice glasses; and, when dinner was ended, the Consul presented every one of us with a bunch of beads and a handful of cross, for which he sent to Jerusalem on purpose, as he told us afterwards.

10: The wind blew so hard that we lay there on shore all night.

11: I went to St George his Chapel, of which hereafter, etc.

12–13: Nothing done but fitting the ship till

(14): Sunday. I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 3. This day we hear the ill news of the four Tripolines that broke out from us, who have taken two Venetian ships and two English ships, especially one of our English ships of a great value.

15: We hear by letters from Alexandria that the Tripolines are come thither, and that they intend to come for Scanderoon.

16–17: We expect the pirates every hour. The Master of a great caravan that came from Aleppo came on board to see our ship.

18: Our men went a-wooding again; and I went to see the Greek church.

19: I was desired to go on shore to bury one of Captain North's men, which I did in the Greeks' churchyard: his name was William Key, of Swanswick, in the isle of Purbeck, in the county of Dorset. But I never saw people so amazed as now they are all on shore; for there came a letter, dated November 10th, from Cyprus, signifying to all Christians whom it might concern, etc., that four men-of-war belonging to Tripoli came into the Bay of Saline, and took thence two French merchant-ships, and that they intended for Scanderoon; so that, had not our ship been here, which was all the guard they had, there had scarce been left a Greek in the town.

20: Some coopery-work[126] done to-day; and a clear

ship, chests, and hammocks being all in the hold; yet we remember our friends.

(21): 'Tis as hot here this day as 'tis in England at Midsummer. A sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 4. And dined on board the *Scipio*, where we had an excellent dinner, and store of wine and punch.

22: Two merchants from Aleppo came on board us, who brought me commendations from Mr Huntington,[127] Chaplain there, with his great desire to see me at Aleppo. But time will not give leave.

23: This morning came in the Venetian merchant again; salutes us with seven guns, we answer five; and are glad to see his safe return, for he was in great danger of being taken.

24: A great deal of rain last night. Now we hear for certain of the Tripolines taking of the Bristol merchant, going from Smyrna; which, besides the rich lading, had fourteen merchants in her. Also we heard of the *Dartmouth* pinnace, going on shore for some sand, had like to have lost all her men; but two only were taken, and are in a galley at Famagusta, in Cyprus, which we intend to redeem at our return.

There dined with us this day the Lord Paget,[128] Mr Woods, Mr Trench, Captain Mauris, Captain North, and the old Venetian Captain. We had a feast for a prince, and liquor accordingly; and now we hear of six Tripolines more broke out, and threaten to meet us.

25: This day I went on shore, and saw a Venetian carried to be buried at the French church; and the

Venetian ship. One friar led the way, holding up as he went a St Andrew's cross, two more following of him, and two more following them, each having a wax-candle in his hand; whereof the last friar that went on the right hand was in a surplice, and said something as he went, just before the corpse. And so they went into the French church, whither I durst not go for fear notice should have been taken.

26: The Lord Paget took our Captain on board the *Scipio*, where great joy was shown, by firing of guns, to welcome some Aleppines.[129]

27: Nothing but merriment and drinking to our friends in England.

(28): I preached a sermon: *Revel.*, xxii, 14, and dined on board the *Thomas & William*.

29: A very windy morning. In the afternoon two pigeons are sent to Aleppo. They will be there in less than three hours. 'Tis sixty miles.

30: So tempestuous that we are forced to lower[130] our yards on the decks.

Dec. 1: Nothing but tempestuous weather, and cold frosty weather, and rain all this week. But we end the week as we used to do, etc.

(5): I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 4: "The wicked will not fear till he feels." The last night our boatswain died very suddenly, and this afternoon I buried him in the Greeks' churchyard. He was nobly buried, and like a soldier. He had a neat coffin, which was covered over with one of the King's jacks, and his bo'sun's silver whistle[131] and chain laid on the top (to show his office) between two pistols crossed with a

hanger drawn. At his going off the ship he had nine guns, which were fired at a minute's distance. And eight trumpets sounding dolefully, whereof the four in the first rank began, and the next four answered; so that there was a continued doleful tone from the ship to the shore, and from thence to the grave. Half the ship's company, with their muskets in the right posture, going after the corpse, with all the officers of all the ships that were there. I myself going immediately before, and the trumpets before me. The whole town came forth to see us. I buried him according to our Common Prayer Book. Abundance of Greeks were at the grave, showing a great deal of devotion; but the Turks stood from the grave and observed, but were not at all displeased, but (as we heard after) commended our way. When he was buried he had four peals of musket-shot. And as soon as we were out of the churchyard the trumpets sounded merry levitts[132] all the way. His name was Richard Capps, of Deptford.

6: This morning we weigh anchor for sailing, and the wind is fair. All the Aleppines and Captains dined on board us; were extremely merry, wishing us thousands of good wishes and drinking our healths, over and over again. At 4 in the afternoon they all went off: we gave them three cheers, and eleven guns; every one of them having drank St George in a rummer[133] as he went over the ship-side; so we part. *Deus fortunet progressum: Amen.* Our squadron is the *Assistance*, *Scipio*, *Thomas & William*, and the Venetian.

Scanderoon being a part of Asia Minor, I must therefore begin with a small description of those places that belong to Asia and lie along by the Mediterranean, before I speak of Scanderoon.

Asia lies East from Greece or the European shores. And Asia is parted from Europe by the river Tanais, called by the Tartareans Don, where it leaveth Asia on the East side, whereon standeth the city of Pera, or Galata; and Europe on the West, where standeth Byzantium, now Constantinople—the sea between these two being not above one mile over. And this river, going southward in a narrow passage, disburdeneth itself into the lake called Meotis Palus, and so into Pontus Euxinus, or the Dead Sea. And on this narrow passage, called Hellespontus,[134] only two miles in breadth, standeth Sestos in Europe and Abydos in Asia. Here Xerxes made his bridge over the sea; and here Leander for the love of Hero swam across it so often, till at the last he was drowned.

Tartary is next, and lieth on the South side of Asia: it was formerly called Scythia, whose bounds did extend far into Europe, but the greatest part of it lies in Asia, and is a very large country.

The Tartareans are men of a great stature and strength, and a warlike people. They fight on horseback, with bows and arrows, and a broad short sword. They are Gentiles, and do not acknowledge Mahomet. And they eat raw horse-flesh, after it hath hung at their saddle awhile, for their ordinary food. They have great plenty of horses.

Natolia, formerly called Asia Minor, lies next on

the Mediterranean; one part whereof is Ionia, where upon the seacoasts, stands the city Ephesus, one of the Seven Churches to which John in his *Revelations* did write; as also St Paul wrote his *Epistle*. This was one of the most renowned cities of all Asia Minor, and especially for Diana's Temple that was there; which, for the magnificence of it, was one of the wonders of the world. 'Twas said to be two hundred years in building; and it was seven times set on fire by lightning; at the last it was set on fire and destroyed by one Herostratus, a base fellow, who did that foul act only to get himself a name.

Smyrna is another of the Seven Churches or cities, standing on the Mediterranean shore; of which Polycarpus was sometime Bishop, who was also once scholar to John the Evangelist. Here is a brave English factory of one hundred men.

Sardis is the third city, but it stands within the land in Lydia; where also stands Philadelphia, Thyatira, Laodicea, and, more North, Pergamos; and more North yet lies a little country along by the Mediterranean called Eolis, in which stands Mysia, in which place did stand Ilium and Troy, whereupon, or rather close under a great hill, which appeared to us very green through our prospectives, some heaps like pieces of rocks might be perceived, which were (as it is related) the ruins of Troy town.[135]

Bithynia lieth North from hence; where standeth the city Nicaea, where the first Council was held against Arrius the heretic by Constantine the Great, and therefore called the Nicene Council. Here stood

also Calcedon, and Paphlagonia; and on the South of this ſtood all the country of Galatia, to whom St Paul wrote his *Epiſtle*. Hither also were the Jews diſperſed, to whom St Peter wrote his firſt *Epiſtle;* as also to those in Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia: from whence Southward lieth Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, which toucheth the Mediterranean; and more South, even on the toe (as it were) of the bay, or on the upper end of it, ſtandeth Cappadocia.

And now, having come all along by the Mediterranean, and also compassed the cod,[136] or farthermoſt end of it, we come to Paleſtina, whose borders come to the cod of the bay; whose chief city is Tarsus, now called Byas, lying by the seaside and under the mountain Taurus, or Mount Hor, as in Scripture; and is but eighteen small miles from Scanderoon.

To this city of Tarsus Jonas would have fled when he should have gone to Nineveh, but was swallowed by the fish; and also was landed again by the fish about sixteen miles from Tarsus under the mountain Taurus and but two good miles from Scanderoon; where to this day the Greeks keep a monument of white baſtard-marble, built in the place where Jonas was landed, called by the name of Jonas' Pillar.[137]

To this city of Tarsus did Solomon send for gold and other provisions for the building of the Temple. And the ruins of the city of Nineveh lie within land (as 'tis credibly said) not above seventy miles from Jonas' Pillar, so that the fish did him a great kindness in bringing Jonas a nearer way from Joppa to Nineveh

than he could have gone by land; for it is between these two a direct line by sea, but must go by land far about.

This part of Asia is called Cilicia. And in this very place (which is called the Straits of Cilicia, which lies between Tarsus and Scanderoon, and is the great roadway between Constantinople and Jerusalem; and is a very narrow passage between the sea and the mountain Taurus) did Alexander the Great in person, with thirty thousand men, give Darius a great overthrow, who had at least an hundred thousand men. And in memory of this his victory, he built a small city, and called it Alexandria; and, to distinguish it from Alexandria in Egypt, it was called Alexandretta, and now Scanderoon. The bay is rather an elbow than a half-moon; and the town stands in the South-East corner, which hath been far bigger. There remains also the ruins of an old brick castle, but it never could be of any considerable strength. But one of the Gaws of Scanderoon began the platform of a strong fortification, and built it six or ten yards high, and the great gate leading into it was built quite over the arch; but the Grand Seigneur, having notice of it and knowing not but that it might prove a nursery of rebellion (for the Turks are very jealous people), sent two mutes, which brought away his head, and so the work lies as he left it, to this very day.

The headsman that was sent for this Gaw's head had command to bring four other Gaws' heads also, which order he executed; but going over the plains of Antioch he had accidentally lost one of them: he

knowing not what course to take (knowing also that his own head muſt go for that which he had carelessly loſt), did in his journey light on a poor Arabian, who had a laudable black beard; the headsman makes no more ado but ſtrangles the man, and takes off the skin of his head and face, and ſtuffs it with cotton (which is their way of beheading, and they do it so artificially that the very countenance and complexion of the man remaineth firm), and brought it among the reſt, and it passed current. The headsman himself told me this same ſtory at Aleppo.[138]

Scanderoon lies in the latitude of 34 or very little more. The town is very inconsiderable. It hath in it three factories, which are all the grace of the town: the English factory exceeding that of the French as much as that doth the Venetians. And on the 22nd of November laſt, there was a third ſtorey added to the English factory, in which it excels all the buildings in town. In the second ſtorey of the factory, on the North side and looking directly to the sea, are two small windows, of equal height. Over one of them is cut in a ſtone R. C.: on the other is cut on the North side M. WK.; on the other side G.G.H.; and on a four-square ſtone, fixed between both the windows, is cut 1638, scarce very discernible.

There is the Turks' church (as they call it), a four-square ragged ſtone wall, about six yards over, with pieces of[139] lying on the top of the wall for over-layers (like our hovels), and earth on the top of some rugged board which lie on the overlayers. 'Tis far more like a hog-ſty than a church: I never saw any

place so slovenly as that which went under that name. It ſtands by itself on the Marine, over againſt the Gaw's house, near the sea, and about a ſtone's-caſt or little more from the English factory. And they tell me that at sunrising and at noon, at sunsetting and at midnight, one in green calls the Turks to their devotion, in a very lamentable tone. They admit none but what are Turks, not so much as their wives.

The Greeks' church is far more large, and kept far more handsome, being compassed with a handsome churchyard. It hath a South and North door, and handsome seats for one single person round about the body of the church, much like those in our college chapels in England; but neither seat nor bench in any other part, the body of the church being destitute of any seat, and also on the top flat, as the Turks' was.

On the South side close to the wall ſtands a desk and a seat (between it and the very wall) for one person; and on the desk lies their service-book in a ſtrange old Greek character, which I could by no means read, and by that lay David's *Psalms*, in a very legible Greek character; but they had neither Bible nor Teſtament.

In the middle of the church, againſt a poſt, hangs the picture of St George a horseback, which is in all their churches. Between that and the partition which separates the church from the chancel (into which we are not suffered to look) hang lamps of several fashions, close the one to the other, in a row the whole breadth of the church; whereof one is always burning. On the partition itself and on the South side of the South

door that lets into the chancel (which, as I perceive, is the chief door to go in at, though there is a lesser door also on the North side) is the picture of our Saviour, according to the true ancient form; and more southwardly the picture of St John, the beloved disciple; and on the North side of that door the picture of the Virgin Mary; and North, the picture of St Nicholas—all well drawn: and directly over that door, and on a large brasen cross, is the picture of St Luke; and several others both over and about these; but these are the most remarkable. Not that they do any worship to these or any other, but for ornament. They have also crucifixes about their necks, and also beads in their pockets, and oft in their hands, but do hate to do worship or service to or with either.

Their Vicar there, whom they call Seigneur Pater, is a very simple old man, and dwells just against the South door of the church; and teacheth little children to read, and some few to write; and is very poor in his habit, and willing to show anyone the church, in hopes of some benevolence, as I took it.

Several Englishmen have been buried in this churchyard, by reason of the unwholesomeness of that air, or their own extravagancy in distempering themselves with those country wines; where on the South side of the church, about half a yard higher than the ground, are three white bastard-marble tombs.

Upon the Eastward most, and under a coat of arms these words . . . The next coat thus :[140]

These are the only things remarkable in Scanderoon, except I should tell you of the multitude of

jackals there about that place, which make a great noise in the evening (much like boys and girls at course-a-pack or barley-breaks[141]), and, if they find a poor beaſt, they will all settle upon him, kill him, and eat him. And sometimes they will fetch their poultry out of the town.

There are also an innumerable company of frogs, of a great bigness, which cry almoſt like ducks. They lie in a moorish place near the town, which being dry in July and Auguſt, the frogs follow a little fresh-water ſtream, into the town; and for want of water die there, and infect the air very much; so that 'tis counted at that time of the year especially a sickly place.

Here is an art (I mean from the three factories) to send a pigeon single, and sometimes two together, from hence to Aleppo upon any sudden occasion of shipping coming in, or any other business. The pigeons are bred at Aleppo, and brought down on horseback in cages; and, when occasion serves, a small note made faſt to their wing, close to their body with a silk, yet so as not to hurt the wing; and then take them to the top of the factory and let him go, and the pigeon will fly home (which any of our pigeons would also do), and the pigeon coming home, thinking to creep into his old habitation, is caught as it were in a coffer,[142] trapped and taken, and examined.[143]

Here is also, about a mile and a half South from the town, a place called St George his Chapel: a ruinous place, and nothing left but a bare wall, of about twelve yards in length, and no covering over it,

and as it were a breach in the wall at the South corner of it, where there was a door. Yet is this place highly prized by them; for if any of the Greeks be dangerously sick and can but crawl to that place, and taking with him three wax candles sets them, or rather ſticks them, between the ragged ſtones of the wall in each altar-place (as they call them) one, lighted—and saying his prayers there, and ſtaying in that place till the candles are burnt out—he returns home cured of what diſtemper soever. Mr Barrow, clerk to our Consul there, Mr Low, did himself credibly affirm to me that by this only means he was recovered three several times from a violent fever whilſt he lived at Scanderoon.

There is an old fig-tree grows at the South-Eaſt corner of this petit[144] building; but probably in former times there might be a greater building, for there are heaps, which signify the demolishing of some greater fabric.

But those that come hither for cure do always leave something behind them in token of their faith and thankfulness; and therefore you shall find those three altar-places (viz. the three corners in the Eaſt end) not only as black as any chimney with the smoke of their wax candles, but also the seams, or chauns, or cracks that are between the ragged ſtones in the wall, ſtuffed full of bits of silk, or locks of hair, of all manner of colours; and sometimes bits of fine linen, ſtuck there in a bit of their wax candle; and 'tis no less than sacrilege to take away any of these.

There is also about two good miles from Scanderoon a monument of baſtard-marble, close to the sea-side, as I said before, and is to this day honoured by the name of Jonas' Pillar; being the place where the fish landed him, after she had kept him three days. It was built like an arch, as was the cuſtom in those days; and now there remain only the two ends, like the two ends of a ſtone house, saving that these are of a greater thickness. The arch is fallen down, and carried away (as some say) to help to build an old caſtle which ſtands close by it; but by what is left there now, you may discern that it was an arch. This place, as also St George his Chapel and several other places of note, would have been repaired by the Greeks long before now but the Turks will not suffer them to repair anything that is demolished.

I shall not trouble myself to decide the controversy between these Greeks and Mr George Sandys his *Relation*,[145] who affirms that the place where the Jonas' Pillar ſtands and where he was really landed, was above Conſtantinople, and on the banks of the river Tanais. But I never heard of that city of Nineveh to be that way; and it is credibly reported by all that country that the ruins of that city that was so famous formerly are not above seventy miles from the place I spake of. It satisfies me that such a place there was.

There is also (as I have intimated before) at Scanderoon the ruins of an old brick caſtle, and also the foundation of another never half-built; so that neither of them are of any use or safety. Only 'tis

the only port or road to which the greatest part of the eastern commodities are brought by land thither, as to the most convenient place, to be transported by shipping to any other place of Europe or other countries.

Having done with Scanderoon, let us now return to our voyage.

7: This morning we came just over against Cape Porcus, or Hog Hill;[146] not that the possessed ran down this steep hill, but, as 'tis said, from the similitude of it, in that it resembles the shape of a hog; but I could see no such thing in it. And now the wind being not fair, in the afternoon we are over against the bay of Antioch.

8: Betimes in the morning we have passed the East corner of Cyprus, and quite out of the sight of Asia with a small gale.

9: The wind being contrary, we are at least twelve leagues short of where we were yesterday. The bo'sun's goods are this day sold at the mainmast,[147] at an extreme dear rate: the wind blows fair.

10: Between 3 and 4 this morning, the *Thomas & William* carrying the light had almost led us all on the shore, on the East end of Cyprus at the corner of the bay which leads into Famagusta; but, the land being very high and they very near, did discover it in time, and fired two guns, which at the first did much affright us supposing they had been on the shore run aground, but, finding it not so, we all tacked about, and sailed on. Very rainy weather, and much thunder.

11: We are ſtill againſt Cyprus with a cross-wind; yet we comfort ourselves with drinking healths to our friends in good racckee.

(12): 'Tis a fair day, but no prayers; for, having discovered a sail, we chase her. We perceive she is a galley, and, the wind failing us and she rowing with many oars, gets [clear] of us; and we ſtay for our companions awhile, and then fall down to them, who were on our lee-bow, being paſt Cyprus many leagues.

13: Much rain laſt night. A fair gale this evening.

14: A ſtrong gale; but carries us not our direct course.

15: A fair day and wind to drive us directly to Candia.

16: A fair gale this morning promises us a sight of Candia by night. About 4 in the afternoon our Captain calls all hands up; and called Mr Nathaniel Berry, and gave him authority to exercise the office of boatswain, and bade all take notice of it; also gave him a cane,[148] and bade him use it with discretion. After that he called Robert Tyndall into the great cabin, and made him maſter's mate. This is a tempeſtuous night.

17: Rough and hazy weather this morning, and a troublesome night.

18: Worse and worse. A very great tempeſt; we never had the like as yet. The seas come often over our quarter-decks; we are all squandered one from the other, and can see [no] ship but our own, and she xtremely tossed. No thinking of friends.

(19): Yeſterday towards evening the ſtorm did a little cease; but the seas are ſtill very untoward. We received but small detriment but the loss of good beef and pork, which ſtood at the head of the ship to be watered; and so it was, for 'twas all driven away, tubs and all. Now we are glad to see all our companions safe. Our Captain commanded several guns to be fired at several times the laſt night; some of which they saw or heard, and so all came in. We had only divine service to-day, everyone having business enough to dry his clothes and bedding. We had thought to have seen the Eaſt end of Candia long before now; but we are driven at leaſt forty leagues from that place: where I intend to leave you awhile, and go back to Syria;[149] and return when our clothes are dry.

Syria is over againſt Cyprus, and lies Southward from Cilicia; having on the Eaſt, Mesopotamia; on the South, Arabia; on the Weſt, Tyre and Sidon; on the North, the Mediterranean. Here dwelt the Aramites; and here is Cape Porcus, spoke of before; at the end of which in a great bay ſtands the city Antioch, so famous formerly, being a place to which the Apoſtles came often; and is ſtill a place of account.

Joppa ſtandeth in another bay somewhat Weſtward; and also in requeſt; to which many of our English merchants do resort; and is not above thirty miles from Jerusalem.

This is the country of Paleſtina, and is only the South and South-Weſt part of Syria; and was the place where the children of Israel dwelt after they

came from Egypt, and not many days journey from Egypt, though they made it a forty years' voyage. All the which time they (having firſt crossed the Bay, properly called the Red Sea) wandered in the deserts of Arabia, as God had fore-ordained, etc.

This country is of small circumference to maintain such a multitude of people as then it did. 'Tis not above two hundred Italian miles in length; but all the bounds of the promised land are far more large, as you read, *Numbers* the 34th. Yet was it so fruitful, flowing with milk and honey (as saith the Scriptures) that it maintained thirty kings and all their trains, before the Israelites came thither; and then did it maintain that vaſt number of the twelve tribes of Israel, without the leaſt feeling of any want.

This land, by God's blessing on it, was thought to be the moſt fruitful place in the world; but experience shows us that now 'tis far short of that fertility; as also all the eaſtern parts are not near so fruitful as formerly —God having cursed that land with the inhabitants in particular: and also because the world was then in its spring or autumn of its age, but now it is grown old.

The river Jordan runs through this country and into the lake Asphaltitis, which caſts up a slime that joins ſtones together very ſtrongly. This lake is by some also called *Mare Mortuum*, for by reason of the saltness and thickness of it nothing can live in it; neither will it mix with the waters of Jordan, though the river run through the very midſt of the lake. No creature can possibly sink in it, though it were a horse

or ox and their legs were tied together; nay, the very birds that sometimes would fly over it are by the noisome smell of it suffocated and fall dead into it.

The occasion of the unsavouriness of this lake (as is supposed) was the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of those plains with fire and brimstone, all that whole country of the plains still being a witness of that fearful judgment, in that it still smells so much of brimstone that in hot weather the passengers are almost suffocated thereby. The filth or bituminous substance of the which country still purgeth itself into this lake, which retains not only its smell, but also its nauseous quality.[150]

This country is altogether unfruitful, being all over full of stones, which look just like burnt cinders.[151] And on some low shrubs there grow small round things, which are called apples,[152] but no whit like them. They are somewhat fair to look at, but touch them and they moulder all to black ashes, like soot both for looks and smell. So also says Josephus, and Solinus,[153] c. 48.

In this land lived the Israelites, even the twelve tribes, in one kingdom, until Rehoboam the son of Solomon divided them. Of which ten were called Israel, and two Judah.

The ten for their idolatry were carried captives into Assyria, and the two remained in Jerusalem and Judaea, who were properly called Jews, and remained there till the captivity of Babylon, where they lived seventy years.

After, they were restored again; but lived in small

repute till our Saviour Christ's time. After that (a curse being laid on them for crucifying Christ) they were, and still are, vagabonds on the face of the whole earth.

Their chief city was Jerusalem, where their first temple was magnificently built by Solomon, and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. At the command of the King of Persia their second temple was built, but far inferior to the first; and destroyed by Titus and his son Vespasian, who brought it to a miserable desolation by fire, sword, and famine.

Herod the Great, an Edomite stranger, built the third, thinking thereby to please the people. And in this both Christ and his Apostles did teach the people; and that land and also the ruins of that city were still possessed by some Christians till about 660 and odd years since the Saracens did invade it, and took it. For the repelling of which Godfrey of Bouillon[154] with several Christians joined themselves, and won it from them; and Godfrey and his successors were kings of it eighty-seven years. Saladin, King of Egypt, got it from the Christians, who was also then King of Asia Minor. To expel which Richard the First, King of England, and Philip, King of France, and the King of Cyprus, went in person to Jerusalem, and won many things from the infidels; but the event was the Saracens kept it, and do so to this day; yet they suffer divers Christians (paying great tribute) to dwell there. Where there are now three religious houses, if not more, where are friars, whose chief livelihood is the showing of our Saviour's

tomb and other reliques of antiquity to such as come thither.

Arabia lies South from Palestina, divided into three parts: the South part, which is very fruitful, called Felix; the part between both called Petraea;[155] that wherein the Israelites wandered called Deserta, having in it few, if any, inhabitants; few in Arabia Petraea: but the other full of good things, frankincense, balms, myrrh, spices, precious stones, etc.

Mahomet was born here, and but of mean parentage; bred up in merchandise; but he soon left that trade, and accompanied himself with thieves, by which means he had got to himself a great number of men; to whom a whole legion of the Roman soldiers at one time revolted for want of their pay from Heraclitus: so that now he had a great army, with the which he began to spoil the countries adjoining, which was in the year 600 or thereabouts.

To maintain his repute among his soldiers, he pretended (in fits of the falling-sickness, to which he was much addicted) to have conference with the Holy Ghost. Then he ordained among them a new religion, consisting of Christian doctrines, Jewish ceremonies, and some things of his own invention.

The book he called the *Alcaron*;[156] and established it death for any man to dispute of or to question anything in it as coming from above.

He lived a very lascivious life; and was buried (as some say) at Mecca, in honour of whom there is built a stately temple, to which the Turks and Saracens from all parts go every year on pilgrimage (as

they would have you believe, and many of the poorer sort do believe so themselves); but the truth is, their going is for merchandising, for at that time of the year there is a very great mart or fair kept there, for all commodities that come from the East Indies.

But Mahomet himself, and Omar, and Ali, lie all in a little chapel at Medina, built for that same purpose; where, as it is the general report, are three thousand lamps constantly burning, and at the head of Mahomet's tomb a precious stone of wonderful bigness.

His Sectaries were the seed of Hagar (the handmaid of Sarah, Abraham's wife) and Ishmael, her son; and should have been called Hagarens or Ishmaelites; but, because they would not be thought to be born of a bond-woman, nor to descend from one that was thought to be a bastard, they called themselves Saracens.

When Christ said to his disciples: "I will send the Comforter to you", the Turks say, that there was added "which is Mahomet", and that the Christians for spite have razed out those words. He promised to rise again after eight hundred years, but is not come yet.

By this time our clothes are wellnigh dry; to which I return.

20: And so we find it a very fair day, wherein we

dry our sails and our bedding (for all was wet), verifying the proverb: "After a storm comes a calm."

21: A fresh gale all the last night; and we stand North-East; yet we can see no land. At 3 in the afternoon we thought we had made some land, and took it to be the West end of Candia; but it proved to be only a fog-bank.

22–23: Very warm and fair days, as if 'twere Midsummer. But no land.

24: Very rough to-day. No land yet. Our decks are washed for Christmas.

25: Christmas day we keep thus. At 4 in the morning our trumpeters all do flat their trumpets, and begin at our Captain's cabin, and thence to all the officers' and gentlemen's cabins; playing a levite[157] at each cabin-door, and bidding Good morrow, Wishing a merry Christmas. After they go to their station, viz. on the poop, and sound three levites in honour of the morning. At 10 we go to prayers and sermon: text, *Zacc.*, ix, 9. Our Captain had all his officers and gentlemen to dinner with him, where we had excellent good fare: a rib of beef, plum-puddings, mince-pies, etc., and plenty of good wines of several sorts; drank healths to the King, to our wives and friends; and ended the day with much civil mirth.

(26): Summer weather. I preached a sermon: text, Job's sons' feast.

27: A very small gale and next to a calm; but very hot weather.

28: We do see land now, but know not what land it is.

29: The land we saw yesterday was not Candia but two small islands, Syvia and Gozo, lying on the East end of Candia; and also Rhodes, which we have passed by not then knowing it.

30: By reason of the smallness of the wind, we make very little way.

31: But the wind freshening a little brought us this morning to the East end of Candia and to Cape Salamon.[158]

This land was formerly called Creta, and sometimes Hecatompolis, because there was in it one hundred towns and cities. Here stood Daedalus his labyrinth, which was so cunningly composed with doors and pillars that no man could find the way in or out again, till Theseus, advised by Ariadne, took a bottom of thread, and tied one end at the door at which he entered, and, keeping the bottom in his hand, did by that means go in and kill the Minotaur that was kept there; and came safe out again.

'Tis now called Candia. It was under the Venetians, but now under the Turks, who took the greatest part of the island and possessed it; but could not take the city of above twenty years siege, but now they have it all. From hence comes much sugar-candy.

On Wednesday we passed by Rhodes, lying East from Candia many leagues; which we had thought we had passed many days before, but we find it otherwise. And in this island the Knights Templars abode after they were driven from Jerusalem and out of the Holy Land; whose friendship was much desired by the neighbouring Princes. And from hence they were

driven by Soliman the great Turk in the year 1521. After which time they had the island of Malta given them by the Pope [and] Charles the Fifth, where they continue to this day; having fortified their island so much that it can hardly ever be taken from them; and are great annoyers of the Turks.

1676. *Jan.* 1: The wind being fair all night hath brought us to the middle of Candia this morning, whereabouts we expect to see our adversaries the Tripolines every hour.

A NEW YEAR'S GIFT TO OUR CAPTAIN

ACROSTICON

W—hen Phœbus did this morning first appear,
I—nriching with his beams our hemisphere,
L—eaving the darksome night behind him, and
L—onging to be at his meridian;
I—magine then the old year's out of date,
A—new one unto Jove let's dedicate—
M—an should not be like an old almanack.
H—eavens guide you, Sir, that Paul's words may be true,
O—ld things are done away, all things are new;
U—nto the rich endowments of your mind
L—ift up your noble courage: Fortune's kind
D—irections bid you forwards; your *Assistance*
I—s begged by Mars for th' Trypolines' resistance.
N—'er man more fit bold acts to undertake,
G—od with his blessings make you fortunate.

So prays, H. T.

(2): I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 5, 6. No wind, nor can we see any land; but we are about the West end of Candia.

3: A fair gale now; and we are all busy in writing letters to England, thinking to send them by the Venetian merchant, but he, being far a-lee, bade us farewell afar off with five guns; we answered with three. And so all our letters are left behind.

4–5: The winds inconstant both these days; else we had gone to Zante.

6: Very rough weather all the last night, and all this day. We are now past Zante: had we been there this day, we had seen a great solemnity; for this day being Twelfth Day, the Greek Bishop of Zante doth (as they call it) baptize the sea, with a great deal of ceremony; sprinkling their galleys and fishing-tackle with holy-water. But we had much mirth on board, for we had a great cake made, in which was put a bean for the king, a pea for the queen, a clove for the knave, a forked stick for the cuckold, a rag for the slut. The cake was cut into several pieces in the great cabin, and all put into a napkin, out of which everyone took his piece, as out of a lottery; then each piece is broken to see what was in it, which caused much laughter, to see our Lieutenant prove the cuckold, and more to see us tumble one over the other in the cabin, by reason of the rough weather.

7: At 11 the last night the tiller of our rudder broke just at the head of the rudder, which might have proved the loss of us all had we been near the shore; but we had sea-room enough, and soon put in another, and all is well.

8: Fair, and very warm: far unlike Christmas weather.

(9): Juſt when we were ready to go to prayers, the sentry on the maintop discovered six sails ahead of us, which caused us suddenly to prepare for an engagement. At firſt they bore from us, causing us the more to diſtruſt them; our ship and our two merchants with us kept our course; and, being now ready to receive them or chase them (for they ſtill bore from us), we went to dinner; but sat a very little while, when of a sudden we saw them all six come in a line directly upon us. Our Captain spake to both our merchants, and appointed them their places, viz. the *Scipio* on the ſtarboard, and the *Thomas & William* on the larboard quarter. All things being now ready and all our guns being run out, and by this time almoſt ready to meet, our colours being out near an hour before, our ship leaves her merchants a good way aſtern, and goes boldly herself single upon them all six; which when Sir Roger Strickland in the *Dragon* saw, says he "These can be no other but the English, they come on so bravely." And now being juſt ready to give fire, we know the *Dragon* by her broken head, and so know them to be our friends, viz. the *Dragon*, *Dartmouth*, and four rich merchants coming from Smyrna. Our fight soon turned to a great deal of mirth, having met with our friends and finding them safe after so long absence. This was between Zante and Malta much about the midway,

10: And we sail merry all nine to Malta; not fearing all Tripoli had they been together. At 3 a-clock I borrowed a bottle of wine of Mr Venge to welcome my cousin Pickering.

11: This morning we see the famous island of Malta; coming under Goza, a small island adjoining to Malta, we discover a sail creeping close to the shore: we hail her with a shot—she would not budge; we sent a second, and then a third, falling very near her: then the Lieutenant came aboard us and paid for the shot:[159] it proved a pitiful Frenchman.

12: A little after 1 a-clock we are at anchor in Malta harbour, and have many salutes. But we have no prattick[160] by the reason of the plague which is begun here.

13: This evening came in the *Dartmouth*, with several salutes; and in the night a ship of Malta came in from France.

14: We are making ready to sail again; but know not whither yet.

15: This morning we warp out of the harbour, with six merchantmen and a dogger, which we are to convoy towards the Strait's mouth. Here also we took in two months' provision, and fresh-water. And as we go out, we meet six galleys of Malta, coming in in all their pomp; and they salute us, and we them, and part. And here at Malta (which was very strange to me) at this time of the year, we bought radishes, cabbages, and excellent cauliflowers,[161] and large ones for 1d. a piece.

(16): I preached a sermon: text, *Exod.*, viii, 6; and towards evening we are between Sicily and Pantellaria.

17: Now under Sicily, and the weather cold and stormy.

18: We discover a boat coming sometimes long-ways, sometimes sideways; at last perceiving no one

in her, we sent our pinnace, and took her up, for she was adrift, and was worth at leaſt ten pounds.

19: Very turbulent weather to-day, and cold also.

20: This day promising so fair, our letters and tokens are put on board the *London Merchant* to go to England by Leghorn; and others are put on board the *Scipio*, leſt we should not have another opportunity.

21: This morning departed from us the *London Merchant*, and the *Owen & David*, for Leghorn; each saluting us, and we them.

22: This morning being something calm gives our old companions Captain Mauris and Captain North leave to come on board us, to take their leave of our Captain. They dine with us; and we drink all our wives' healths in England in several sorts of wines. At laſt they drink St George,[162] and go to their ships. I sent by Captain Mauris letters and such tokens as I then had to my friends in England—some to London, some to Spernall.

(23): I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 6. The sun is extremely hot upon us. We are in sight of Sardinia, and much about Cagliari Bay. At 6 at night we take leave of our four merchants, wishing them safe to England: each of them saluting us, and we them, intending to leave them at 12 a-clock if the wind serves. At which time the wind freshening we tack about, and give them all five guns, and bade them all adieu, wishing them a safe arrival to England; and each of them, to show their thankfulness, gave us five guns.

Our noble Captain bids adieu once more
To all his convoy: five guns fired roar
And echo loud from the Sardinian shore
Ten thousand farewells to his Commodore[162*]:
Who hearing this, with thanks and sighs good ſtore
Sends back ten thousand, and ten thousand more.

24: Now we ſtand Eaſt; and have a fair gale for Malta.

25: Summer weather, and our ſeamen begin to put off their coats and ſtockings. Juſt as we are called to dinner we discover eight ſails afar off: we make a clear ſhip, but they would not come near us. They were French and Spaniards.

26: A very great grampus played about our ſhip all this morning, wondering what great fiſh our ſhip was. She could not be leſs than fifty yards in length. Our Captain began to be much afraid of her, but at laſt she went away, throwing up the water out of her noſe higher than our top-maſt.

27: Now we ſee Zembra and Cape Bona on the Barbary ſhore.

28: And now we have Pantellaria on the ſtarboard, and Sicily on the larboard ſide.

29: Now we are at the point of Goza, which is a member of Malta, a place of great ſtrength. This day David Thomas and Marlin the cook and our Maſter's boy had their hand ſtretched out and with their backs to the rails, and the Maſter's boy with his back to the mainmaſt, all looking one upon the other, and in each of their mouths a marline-ſpike,[163] viz. an iron pin clapped cloſe into their mouths, and tied

behind their heads; and there they ſtood a whole hour, till their mouths were very bloody: an excellent cure for swearers.

(30): By 8 we are at anchor in the harbour at Malta; where the *Guinea* and the *Martin* salute us with five guns apiece; we answer with three to each. Here we are told of the joyful news of Sir John's burning of four Tripoli men-of-war in their own harbour; and how we took their guardboat firſt, and killed all that were in her, and so went in and fired the ships, and came out again without any man being hurt.[164] No sermon to-day, our Captain not being well. The plague is in the city, so that we have no prattick.

This day being the day of our King's martyrdom,[165] we show all the signs of mourning as possible we can, viz. our jacks and flags only half-ſtaff high; and at 5 a-clock in the afternoon our ship fired twenty guns; the trumpets at the close ringing the bells on the trumpets very dolefully, and also the guns firing at half a minute diſtance. Then the *Dartmouth* fired eighteen guns at the same diſtance, and their trumpets also the same; and our two merchants fired sixteen a-piece. After all, our trumpets sounded "Well-a-day",[166] the *Dartmouth* did the same, and so we ended the day mournfully; which made the Maltese much wonder, till they underſtood the reason of it.

31: At 3 a-clock in the afternoon all the seven galleys came out of their berths, and gave a volley of small shot, and took a new berth juſt by the ſtairs that go up into the city. They intended to go out in the evening, supposing they had seen three Algerines, but they

were English ships, viz. Sir John Berry[167] in the *Briſtol*, and two merchants with him, whom we all salute at his coming in; who is also saluted by the town, and the galleys.

Feb. 1*ſt*: Very fair weather; and we send our vessels on shore to sweeten before they be filled. Here we hear of the *Garland's* forcing the Admiral ship of Sally on shore. So that we are ſtill conquerors.

2–3: Fair weather. The seven Maltese galleys come to the mouth of their harbour only to show themselves, and then clap upon a wind, and go to sea again; but by 12 a-clock they come all into their harbour, and make a gallant show, and return to their berths again.

4: This day dined with us Sir Roger Strickland, Captain Temple, Captain Harris,[168] and one gentleman more. We had a gallant baked pudding, an excellent leg of pork and cauliflowers, an excellent dish made of pigs' pettitoes, two roaſted pigs, one turkey cock, a roaſted hog's head, three ducks, a dish of Cyprus birds, and piſtachios and dates together, and ſtore of good wines.

5: God bless those that are at sea! The weather is very bad.

(6): Bad weather ſtill. No sermon to-day; the Captain not well.

7: I dined on board the *Guinea*; and had hearty welcome.

8: Bad weather; *Deo gratias* that we are in a safe harbour!

9: Our Captain is busy on shore in making a new wharf.

10: The *Swan* came in hither from Leghorn.

11: Sir John Narbrough came in from Tripoli, and four more ships with him. The noble Maltese salute him with forty-five guns; he answers them with so many that I could not count them. And what with our salutes and his answers there was nothing but fire and smoke for almoſt two hours.

12: To-day came in the *Henrietta*, also from Tripoli.

(13): We are all muſtered by 7 this morning. I preached a sermon: *Exod.*, viii, 6. It is a brave sight to see all our fleet this day; nine frigates, two fire-ships, six merchants. Jacks and flags out, and pendants on every yardarm.

14: I went on board the Admiral to visit Doctor Franklen, who went with me to the *Dartmouth*, and thence to the *Guinea* to see Captain Harman,[169] where, we had good welcome at both places; and so returned to our own ships.

15: The Grand Maſter came to visit our Admiral, who gave him eleven guns.

16: I bought a wig of Mr Selby for three dollars, and some Syracusa wine; and a hat coſt three dollars.

17–18: Very bad weather for wind and rain.

19: This day came in the *Portsmouth* to the joy of us all, for we all gave her over for loſt. She brought with her also a settee, which she had taken from the Turks.

(20): I preached my firſt sermon on the Lord's Prayer.

21: All our foretop sails are loose, to sail; but the

wind is so directly contrary that we cannot get out of the harbour.

22: This day we saw a great deal of solemnity at the launching of a new brigantine of twenty-three oars, built on the shore very near the water. They hoisted three flags in her yesterday, and this day by 12 they had turned her head near the water; when as a great multitude of people gathered together, with several of their knights and men of quality, and a cloud of friars and churchmen. They were at least two hours in their benedictions, in the nature of hymns or anthems, and other their ceremonies; their trumpets and other music playing often. At last two friars and an attendant went in to her, and kneeling down prayed half an hour, and laid their hands on every mast and other places of the vessel, and sprinkled her all over with holy-water. Then they came out and hoisted a pendant, to signify she was a man-of-war; and then at once thrust her into the water, where she no sooner was but they fired twenty-one chambers, and rowed to our Admiral and gave him a gun, who gave them another. Then she went into the cove where all their galleys lie, and was welcomed with abundance of guns. And there are four more just ready to be launched, all for the coasts of Tripoli.

23: At 5 this morning our Admiral fired a gun, the signal for sailing; we all towed out by 10 a-clock. We are now a gallant fleet; thirteen sail went out together, and two more follow us this evening. The *Henrietta* we leave to go for England, and the *Dragon* on the careen. Never were there

so many English frigates together in that harbour before.

Several noises of trumpets sound as we pass, and many peals of loud cannons salute one another, causing a multitude of all sorts of people to ſtand on both sides of the harbour, on the tops of their walls, to see our gallant show. We are all for Tripoli, and resolved for mischief. And if those gallants of Malta do so much admire us, certainly we shall much terrify the Turks.

24: The *Portsmouth* came out laſt night. The [*Blank in MS.*] not come yet. We ſtand for Tripoli; fourteen brave ships, and ſtand almoſt in a line.

25: By 10 this morning, by a pendant on the mizzen peak, our Admiral calls all the Captains to a consultation; for we had before seen the eaſtern coaſts of Tripoli.

Within an hour each of them was on board again. But the wind rose this afternoon on a sudden, and hindered our design.

26: The wind high, and the seas very rough; we are blown at the leaſt thirty leagues nor'ward, and scarce three ships together.

(27): The wind now more mild, and our fleet begins to gather together. I preached a sermon. We had at dinner a dish of green beans and peas, brought from Malta.

28: We see Tripoli once more, but only four of our ships are together; but all the reſt come in by night, and lie before Tripoli.

There came presently a brigantine to our Admiral,

to treat for peace; for they are much terrified to see so many of us there; and our Admiral sends his boat on shore to the town with instructions. We can see but one ship lie in their harbour, but many more may lie in there undiscovered, under their Mandrake, as they call it.

29: It hath been very tempestuous all night, and so continues. We may suppose their Marabouts[170] are at work to drive us from their coasts; but God is above the Devil. This morning I buried one of our men in the sea: it was the tailor of the gunroom, and had been sick a long while.

March 1st: The seas are extremely rough, and we are at least sixteen leagues from Tripoli. We dare not come near the shore till the weather be better.

2: We stand in all for Tripoli again; at 12 a-clock, thanks be to God! we see all our fleet safe together, but are at least fourteen leagues from Tripoli.

3: The old proverb is true: "After a storm comes a calm." It was so calm all the last night that many of our ships had like to have ran on shore.

4: This morning we are all close before Tripoli, and I suppose this will be joyful Saturday to them; for both the King and Queen of Tunis have been at Tripoli ever since we burnt their ships; and are to go to the Great Turk for aid against those that have driven them from thence. They have desired a convoy from our Admiral, and will make a peace between us and Tripoli. His name is Hopsiby, and 'tis related that he hath seven hundred concubines.

At 1 a-clock came a half-galley to our Admiral, and saluted him with all her guns; our Admiral thanked him with eleven, and then let fly all his pendants. At 5 a-clock both the brigantine and the half-galley went off, and our Admiral gave them eleven guns; and the half-galley gave all she had; but still our Admiral did outdo them in civility. The *Bristol* gave them nine, and the *Portsmouth* nine, as they went by them.

Within the harbour the King of Tunis his ship saluted them with eight guns, and the shore saluted them with ten, as I counted them; but the peace is not yet fully concluded.

(5): No prayers to-day by reason of business. The peace, as it is said, is concluded: the King of Tunis being the only agent in it. The Tripolines are to give us eighty thousand pieces-of-eight,[171] and to release all the slaves that belong to the Crown of England, and to release four merchants of Leghorn and a knight of Malta: yet these must pay a certain sum of money; and this did bite sore, for between the Maltese and the Turks this is their absolute law, that whosoever of them is taken in actual arms is never to be ransomed.

'Tis the most honourable peace that ever yet was made with the Turks.[172] They were very loth to pay any moneys, but were so affrighted at our bold attempt in burning their ships, and also as much to see our fire-ships there, that they were forced to grant what our Admiral would have.

Soon after 12 the King of Tripoli sent off the

knight of Malta, and the gentlemen of Leghorn and several others; and, when the galley went from shore, the town began and fired all their guns round about the town. After they had done, our Admiral began and fired twenty-one guns, and every ship in the fleet fired accordingly; so that for two hours there was nothing but smoke and fire, and trumpets sounding and cannons roaring. It was a very joyful day to Tripoli.

6: This day nothing but presents from shore, and salutes from our ships. There came to our ship one bullock, one sheep, two lambs, two baskets of oranges, bread, and salads.

7: This morning the peace was almost broke off again; insomuch that Sir John proferred to pay for all the fresh provisions that came off, and was sending the slaves on shore again; but by night all was well again.

8: The articles are now all signed on both sides;[178] and the Tripolines sent off the articles, and at 5 in the morning fired all the guns about their city twice over, which was answered by all our fleet; and the peace is absolutely ratified.

At 8 a-clock our ship takes leave of Sir John, and salutes him with eleven guns and three cheers; and he nobly salutes us with as many; we return him thanks with five, and so part; and our ship with the *Dartmouth* and three merchant-ships stand for Scanderoon. This day I began to make buttons for some new clothes.

9–10: Very stormy weather both these days.

11: This day we pass by the famous island of Malta; the *Dartmouth* went in and told the news of the peace, at which there was great rejoicing; and six English ships came out presently and sailed away: some of them for England.

(12): Not such a day for rain and wind since we came out of England; prayers, but no sermon.

13–15: As bad blowing weather all these days; yet we keep together.

16: Thanks be to God, we have better weather, and a fairer wind.

17: A fair day, and we are between Malta and Zante. This day I drank part of a bottle of Deal ale.

18: My birthday; nat. 55.[174] We have fair wind and weather.

(19): Now between Zante and Candia, with a fair wind. I preached a sermon of obedience to our Father.

20: Fair weather, but a scant wind. We see no land. The last night a ship came very near us, which so soon as ever she discovered us tacked off much affrighted.

21: Under Gozo and Anti-Gozo we are calmed for two hours.

22: This evening we are at the West end of Candia. High land.

23: Over against the hill on which stood Diana's temple.

24: We had the service of the day, being Good Friday. This day Mr Dawes brought me my new coat.

25: Our Lady Day. Passed the East end of Candia; and a fresh gale.

(26): Good Easter Day. I preached a sermon: *Mark*, xvi, 9. And prayers in the afternoon.

27: This morning we discover two ships which were coming upon us; but, as soon as we tacked upon them, they tacked clear from us, and made from us as fast as they could. They must needs be Tripolines, for they came directly from Alexandria, and none but Tripolines could be thereabout.

28: A cross-wind the last night brought from the island of Cyprus an infinite number of hawks among our ships. There were taken at least fifty in our ship; and we are driven very near the coasts of Egypt. But now a fair gale.

29: We discover the West end of Cyprus; but far off. Since yesterday 12 a-clock to 6 this evening we have run two hundred miles.

30: The wind is so cross that we cannot come to the anchoring-place.

31: At 8 we come to an anchor in the bay of Saline; and are saluted by our merchants with seven, five-five guns.

About 10 I went ashore, the sea being very rough. The fort, standing near the water and facing the road is very inconsiderable, having not above nine pitiful guns in it.

Upon the Marine stands a small town, consisting of coffee-houses and shops and warehouses, and other places where wine is to be sold. In the middle of the street lay several hundreds of hogskins full of

wines, which at the first sight I took for so many singed hogs.

At the West end of the village stands a very ancient Greek church, where St Paul preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The place is kept very decent; the church stands East and West; as also stand all the Turks' mosques, and they all bury East and West. 'Tis built as it were in the form of a treble cross with a round like a tower upon each cross; not a window in the church, for 'tis lighted with lamps and torches, some of which are continually burning. There is a South door, the usual entrance; and a North, not so much used, but only to go out at into that part of the churchyard, where are several stones laid over several graves: some are English.

On the right hand as soon as you come into the church is the picture of St George; of our Saviour Christ; the Virgin Mary, with the babe in her arms; St John, and many more. In the East end stands the altar in the middle of the chancel, so that you may go round about it. And on the altar lies a golden cross; and certain great cakes of white bread (as I took them to be) covered with a fine linen cloth; yet so as that you might easily see the sides of them; and some old books on one end of the altar. And between the altar and the wall at the very East of all is the sepulchre of Lazarus. I went down into it; 'tis for length and breadth much like a saw-pit, and so low that when you are in it you must almost creep, and much ado to get into it, but more to get out again, the stairs being all worn away. And in one side of the church, viz. on

the South side and towards the Weſt end, hangs up part of a ſtrange kind of a small boat, which they say was the vessel in which Lazarus escaped when he came to that island. Over his sepulchre lies one piece only of an old graveſtone, on which are some characters, which seem to have been old Greek characters, but so overworn that you cannot underſtand anything by them.

Weſt from this, about a little mile, ſtands Larnaca, a pleasant walk leading to it; and is of itself a pleasant village, beautified with several handsome ſtructures, such as that country affords; where we had good entertainment, and excellent muscadel at our Consul's house. The fields have little grass thereabout, but are overgrown with camomile, marigolds, muscovy, etc. And great ſtore of caper-bushes, palm-trees, almond-trees, and olives; and such plenty of thyme, and so big-grown that the people ſtock it up to burn, as we do furse or gorse.

Excellent wines, white and red, which they make in the mountain, and bring it down in hog-skins, like little firkins.

April 1ſt: Laſt night tempeſtuous; and ſtill cold and ſtormy weather.

(2): I preached a sermon on the word 'Father'. We muſt live to Him. We had several Turks and Greeks on board; some of them seemed very devout with us, but all very civil.

3: A summer's day. 4 this evening we sail for Scanderoon.

5: We have an indifferent fair gale: we easily see

the Mount Lebanon, whose top is all covered with snow at this time.

6: We are entering on the bay where ſtands Famaguſta; at 12 we can plainly see it and ships lying in their harbour.

7: A cross-wind will not suffer us to go our course, but halt close under the Mount Lebanon, where to this day remain ſtanding many of the old cedars which were before the Flood. This evening I buried in the sea Mr Symon Selby, who died of a consumption.

8: We are in sight of Cape Porcus,[175] but with a cross-wind; and this day we have seen three several winds among our five ships, and all blowing at one time. I made my sheets; and this is the firſt night that I lay in sheets since I came from England.

(9): We are entered into the great bay that leads to Scanderoon. The business of our ship hinders our devotions.

10: At 3 in the morning we are towed in: and at 7 we come to an anchor in the Road, where we find the *Martin*, which we thought had been loſt, and two ships more. Each of them saluted us with five guns; whom we answered with three apiece. No sooner were we at anchor but our Consul and Mr Betten came on board us, and received us joyfully; whom we saluted with seven guns. Our other four ships came in after us, all saluting one another; so that this day will be nothing but salutes, visits, and jollities.

11: I went ashore. Where our Captain and some

other gentlemen did redeem the widow the liberty of selling wine. I[t] was my dollar.

12: Thousands of flamingoes fly all about the bay to-day: they are blue and bow-dye;[176] bigger than a swan, and as tall as a man; and some say they portend ill weather.

13: I went ashore to prepare for Aleppo; and dined with our Consul.

14: All our Captains and Consul dine with us; and are very merry.

15: At 4 this morning the *Aleppine* and *Ormand* go hence for England.

(16): Prayers, but no sermon, for our Captain went ashore to be gossip[177] to one of our Consul's servants' child.

17: A very bluſtering day. And this is (as it is called by our seamen) the 'Laſt day of Lent', that is the day whereon the laſt boiling of the beef that was bought at Cyprus was flung overboard, for the meat was so bad that they chose rather to eat bread dry than to eat that meat. That was much to our Purser's discredit.

18: Bad weather, and a great flock of flamingoes come among our ships—a sign of more bad weather ſtill.

19: Bad weather this day.

20: Fair weather, and we go in nearer the shore. A piece of an army, viz. two thousand, came the laſt night to Scanderoon, and pitched their tents close to the town. The Gaw and the Great Bashaw came to see our ship; whom we salute with five guns and three

cheers. This Bashaw is come from Egypt, from Grand Cairo, and is going to Conſtantinople to marry the Grand Seigneur's ſiſter; and these men are his guard.

21–22: Extreme hot weather both these days. And wind at night.

(23): St George his day. Juſt when we were going to prayers, the wind rose so suddenly that our men were all busy in lowering[178] yards and looking to the anchors. So that prayer-time is paſt. At 12 a-clock a Maltese man-of-war, of sixteen guns and thirty peteraroes, came into the bay; who, having taken some sikes[179] from the Turks on those coaſts, came to an anchor, and put out a white ancient, and fired a gun to signify that the Turks might come to him, and redeem or buy his prizes of him. Our Consul and the Gaw dined with us; and after dinner at the King's health we fire twenty-five guns; all the other ships, after, fired guns accordingly. And at the Gaw's going off, our ship gave him nine guns, the *Dartmouth* seven, and the merchants five apiece. All very merry.

24: This day the *Dartmouth* (being so ordered by our Captain) went and anchored close by the Maltese, who saluted him with seven guns; the *Dartmouth* answered him with seven more. And at 4 in the afternoon the Maltese Lieutenant came on board us, and was courteously entertained by our Captain. The name of their ship is the *St Peter;* and the commander's name, Cavalier Dentershaud.

25: I went ashore, where I found a man and

horse, and a tent provided for me to go up to Aleppo.

26–27: Very tempeſtuous, so that, though I went ashore, I was at night fain to come aboard again.

28: I went ashore again; where I found our Captains counting their moneys for Aleppo, but there we ſtay all night.

29: This day about 10 of the clock Captain Harman of the *Guinea* and myself, and a janizary and his man, and my man, do begin our journey towards Aleppo. At a place called Byland, about ten miles from Scanderoon, we dine, at an old Greek's house, with good mutton-ſteaks, and drank good wine; and paid a dollar. 'Tis a very ſtrange built town, ſtanding upon cliffs of rocks; one house as it were on the top of another, for six or seven houses high; like pigeon-holes at a house-end: so that it is a very difficult thing to find the passage from one house to another, and as dangerous for a man to go [in] it when he hath found it.

About six or eight miles from hence we pass over a small bridge, by which ſtands a little house, where you muſt call and drink a dish of coffee, and give them half a dollar at leaſt. Passing from hence, we soon overtake our caravan, viz. a company of carriers of at leaſt six hundred, every one having some arms; and besides them about fifty armed soldiers, which are our guard.

In a plain they all ſtay, throw down the burdens from the cattle, and turn them up to feed. The Captain and I have a tent pitched over us, an old

Turkey carpet spread under, and a roll of matting laid to lay our heads on. But what with the fleas and lice that were in that carpet, and the frogs that were croaking all about us, as also the hooting of the jackals,[180] I could not sleep one wink, but we sat up and drank wine and brandy, of which we brought good ſtore with us; and there I did eat polloe[181] with the Turks.

(30): By 2 in the morn we are on horseback again, and come to the plains of Antioch: a rich soil, and a plain of at leaſt fifty miles long, full of fish and ſtrange fowls; and grass almoſt up to the horses' bellies, but no beaſts to eat it save here and there a few buffaloes—a ſtrange kind of beaſt: his body is as big as an ox, colour black, but the head and horns ſtanding forward, hog-like, and very ugly. These the people use as we do cows, of which there are very few.

Having rode a long way in this plain, we come at the laſt to a small village, the worſt that ever I saw—the houses being of nothing but reeds, and pieces of the bark of trees covering the tops of them in the nature of hollow tiles. 'Tis inhabited by Arabians, who have abundance of these buffaloes, and some few cows, hogs, some sheep, and abundance of hens. Here very near to the houses are abundance of buffalo-calves, every one of them tied (like so many bears) to a ſtake, where I suppose they give them milk. The people were many of them milking these cattle when the Captain and I and our janizary came thither; for our janizary had a friend lay there, which he was to call

on, and he brought us out of the way to that place. And many foul women were making of butter of the buffaloe's milk, which they put into a calf's skin, or hog's skin, and so do roll it, and knead it on the ground till it be a substance, more like grease than butter, both for looks and taste; for the chief lady of the town (as I suppose by her habit) presented us with some of it, and a little of that would go far.

This Arabian lady was tall and very slender, very swarthy of complexion and very thin-faced, as they all [are] generally; having nothing on but a thin loose garment, a kind of a girdle about her middle and the garment open before. She had a ring in her left nostril, which hung down below her nether lip; at each ear a round globe as big as a tennis-ball, shining like gold and hanging (in chains that looked like gold) almost as low as her breast, which you might easily see, and loathe them for their ugly yellowish colour. She had also gold chains about her wrists, and the smalls of her naked legs. Her nails of her fingers were coloured almost red, and her lips coloured as blue as indigo; and so also was her belly from the navel to her hams, painted with blue like branches of trees or strawberry leaves. Nor was she cautious, but rather ambitious to show you this sight; as the only rarity of their sex or country. The rest of the women were all alike for their painting in all places, but far fouler. But we did not more admire their garb than they did us and our swords, crowding after us to look on us and our swords, till we were fain to betake ourselves to our horses.

About 12 we reſt ourselves a little under our tent in a pleasant plain and by a spring, where were several tombs near us, but not a house to be seen; but ruined cities on every hillside all along as we pass by.

About 6 a-clock, I (being the foremoſt of all near half a mile, for I was very weary with riding in such a ſtrange saddle) discovered a blue tent above a mile from us in a valley, on the very side of the bank by the river Ephraim. I ſtay till the Captain comes up; and we then see that it was the noble Aleppines, who had come thither thirty miles on purpose to meet us, and had been here two days already. Here we reſted all night, and had excellent accommodation, but had no sleep; and for that we might thank ourselves. And in this river Ephraim, with a caſting-net, I took two fishes, of which one was a foot long, and much like a chub.

May 1ſt: About 2 of the clock in the morning (spending but small time in dressing, for we did but get up and shake us) we mount again, and were glad we had all our horses safe; for some of them had like to have been ſtolen, though six men were set on purpose to watch them. We expeĉted bad weather, by reason of thunder afar off, but it did not reach us. Having rode near three hours on good plain ground, we came to the foot of the rocky mountains; such way as I never rode, nor never heard of till I came thither; nor could I have thought any horse, or other beaſt carrying any load, could possibly have gone over such a place. In some places you ascend a ſteep hill for a mile together, and sometimes descend as ſteep, and as far:

sometimes you pass over broad ſtones, as ſlippery as glass, for twenty yards together; and sometimes going in and out, turning about great ſtones, and ſtepping over others; and sometimes going up or down ſteps of ſlippery ſtones, like walls, able to throw or break the legs of any beaſt: such travelling as I could not have believed had I not seen it. And this for five or six hours together. But those country-horses, being accuſtomed to it, will carry you, without ſtumbling, over them all, if you will but give them the bridle.

And as we passed over these rocky mountains we saw the ruins of several ſtately cities, where part of the churches were remaining, and some inscriptions over the doors, but I could not read them. At the laſt we came to a little town called Hanjarr, where were some good houses and a great mosque. But we durſt not go to any house in the town for fear of lice, of which cattle the Turks have great ſtore; but we pitched our tent near the town, and had some Turkish food brought to us, which was as bad as it was dear. Here we reſt two hours, and then mounted again, and, having rode about ten miles farther, we came to the top of a hill, beyond which about a mile and a half ſtands the city of Aleppo; to which we came about 5 of the clock. Where as soon as we were come to the entrance into the town, Captain Harman and myself were placed in the front, the two janizaries only going before us; and all the reſt of the gentlemen (of which at leaſt forty came to meet us) came aloof off behind us, as is the cuſtom there, to signify that we were ſtrangers. The people, both men and women, came out to gaze after

us, whilſt he and I rode on together very merrily. All the Franks accompany us to the factory, where firſt the Consul himself, and then all the reſt of the gentry there present, takes us by the hand, and bids us welcome. Here the Captain leaves me, and goes to another English house. Then the Consul, Mr Gamaliell Nightingale, takes me by the hand, and leads me through a long hall, into his chamber; to which place came all the reſt of the Franks in particular that had not done it before, to bid me welcome to the town. After awhile the Consul takes me by the hand and leads me 'thwart a ſtately room, which is their chapel, and puts me into a very fair chamber, and bids me call it my home, etc.

2: This morning Mr Robert Huntington,[182] Chaplain there, and Captain Harman and I went about (as it is the cuſtom of the place,) to each Frank's house and chamber in particular to give them thanks for their yeſterday's welcoming us to the town, which was a task to be performed rather in a whole week than in one day.

3: This morning we went to visit some of those gentlemen which we had not time to visit yeſterday. Among whom I found a young gentleman of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, one Mr Renoldson,[183] cotemporary with my son Henry. And Mr William Fane, of Fulbeck, in Lincolnshire, and Mr George Tredway, near Borne, and Mr Hussy, born at Huntington, all which used me more courteously for country sake.

4: I was invited to dinner by Mr Trench, where

were twelve Englishmen more, where we had entertainment for princes.

5: After dinner at our Consul's I was invited to a collation at Assera, that is at 4 a-clock, to Mr Sheapard's, kin to Mr Raulins, of Stratford; where also we had most noble accommodation.

6: This morning early (as it is the custom all summer long) at the least forty of the English, with his worship the Consul, rode out of the city about four miles to the Green Plat, a fine valley by a riverside, to recreate themselves. Where a princely tent was pitched; and we had several pastimes and sports, as duck-hunting, fishing, shooting, handball, cricket,[184] scrofilo, etc.; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with great plenty of all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonades; and at 6 we return all home in good order, but soundly tired and weary.

And here I cannot omit the sight we met as we rode from the city to this Green Plat. The Consul and myself only riding a gentle pace together, we see a great company of women coming all of a heap; one was in the midst of them clad in a long red veil, with something of white over that, which was the woman going to be married to the man; for so they must do. Two men rode before this foot-company on good horses, each having a long pike in his hand, and a scimitar by his side; who rode firely up to us, as though they would have charged us; but came and only rode round about us, and returned to their company: the foremost of which was the music, with a tabor just like a pellet sieve, and something like a pipe which squealed very

loud; and when this tabor and pipe had made a ſtrange noise for a while (but no whit like music), then all the company came in with the chorus, crying, " Lylly, lylly, lylly, lylly ", etc., as loud as they could squeal, all in one note, and as long as a wind would hold. I am confident you might hear the noise two miles at leaſt; and this music and noise they continued in the town all that night.

(7): I preached a sermon in the factory: *Psalm*, lxvi, 13; and had an audience of above fifty Englishmen—a brave show in that wild place. And after, I dined with ten more at Mr Sherman's house; and at dinner-time came to our Consul two English gentlemen from Jerusalem, Mr Robinson, and Mr Pye.

8: This day I dined with twenty-three more at Mr Lanoy's house, whose father was Consul there before Mr Nightingale. We had a plentiful dinner, answerable to the neatness of his house; and great plenty of all sorts of wine. And here I cannot but relate to you what happened in the morning to two there at dinner.

Two Dutchmen came from Jerusalem with our two gentlemen, viz. Mr Robinson, and Mr Pye, who (for the better convenience of travelling, that they might look like Turks) had let their beards grow wild and extremely extravagant to a great length; and, coming now among the English and also to some of their own countrymen, were resolved to be in the same fashion. But going to the Turks' barber to have their beards shaved off, he denied it, blessing of himself, and saying " Stifur-law ": that is, God forbid that he should do such a foul thing as that was, to cut

such beards, asking what affront any one had given them since they came to town that had caused them to cut their beards. The gentlemen would have no denial; so at the last the barber calls in two more Turks to witness that he did it, but it was unwillingly. And now these gentlemen were a little afraid lest an aveny[185] should have been laid on them for cutting their beards; for that about a month before one of the Franks, for cropping of his horse's ears, was punished with the payment of an hundred dollars, saying: "Are you wiser than God Almighty?" And here Mr Sheapard gave me that strange fowl called by the Arabians 'sack-cokashy', or 'lowder-carrier'—by us pelicans, which I brought home and presented to my Honourable Lord Carrington.[186]

In the plains of Antioch there [were] thousands of these fowl in a company, which at the first sight I took for great flocks of sheep. They are very white, and far bigger than a swan, and are an absolute water-fowl; they are very strong of wing, and will mount so high till they lessen to the bigness of a small hawk. Under their beak, which is half a yard long, or rather just in their throat, they have a great alforge,[187] or bag, which will hold two gallons of water. These fowl keep together in great companies, in the plains of Antioch; but all the summer-time, but especially in the hottest time of all, they single themselves, and fill their punch, or bucket, with water, carrying also many fishes therein for their own provision; and, mounting a great height in the air, they fly singly into the deserts of Arabia, where the small birds will

come about them like chickens about a hen, for water, which this fowl will distribute among them; and, when all his store is spent, he returns to his old place, and having stayed awhile, goes again as before. The Turks call him ' the charitable bird '.

9: We had a breakfast, but no set dinner; but all the nation was invited at Assera to a treat of our Consul's providing; but such a one as I never saw before. The particulars whereof you may see [below]; the dishes being all placed as they stood on the table.[188]

A DISH OF TURKEYS A DISH OF TARTS
A PLATE OF SAUSAGES
A DISH OF JELLIES A DISH OF GAMMONS
A BISQUE OF EGGS AND TONGUES
A DISH OF GEESE A DISH OF BISCUITS
A PLATE OF ANCHOVIES
A DISH OF HENS A VENISON PASTY
A PLATE OF ANCHOVIES
A DISH OF BISCUITS A DISH OF GREEN GEESE
A GREAT DISH WITH A PYRAMID
OF MARCHPANE
A DISH OF TARTS A DISH OF HENS
A DISH OF ARTICHOKES
A PASTY A DISH OF MARCHPANE
IN CAKES
A DISH OF SAUSAGES
A DISH OF GAMMONS A DISH OF BISCUITS
A PLATE OF HERRINGS
A DISH OF GEESE A DISH OF TURKEYS
A PLATE [OF] ANCHOVIES
A DISH OF MARCHPANE A PASTY
ARTICHOKES
A DISH OF HENS A DISH OF JELLIES
A PYRAMID OF MARCHPANE
A DISH OF BISCUITS A DISH OF GAMMONS
ANCHOVIES

10: I dined at Mr Ivatt's house with six more, where we had excellent provision; plenty of wine, but especially good canary.

11: I was with thirty more at a treat at Mr Goodyear's, and entertained in a tent pitched on the house-top; their houses are flat.

12: This morning came in a caravan, and many pilgrims, from Mecca, as is their use every year. They have been out much about six months. And men, women, and children do go out of the city, crying out as they go, "lylly, lylly", etc., in token of great joy to see their friends returned. The men that have been at Mecca at their return are counted wise men, and are called 'Hadjee', as a title of honour; and may wear a green coat. And the very camels that have been there have a mark put on them to distinguish them from other camels, and are not after that used to servile work. And this day I dined with thirteen more at Mr Delew's, where, besides our excellent fare, we had great plenty of good canary—a great rarity there, for it comes all from England.

And here also dined with us the two Dutchmen who lately had their beards cut, at whom we had good laughing, for they were still afraid of an aveny of one hundred dollars.

13: This day I went with four more gentlemen to see some of the great houses in the city; for it is not permitted to any stranger to come into the castle except he intend not to come out again.

The first we went to was a Turk's house, viz. the Mussilem.[189] He himself was not at home, but

gone the day before to Stambul, *alias* Constantinople; but we were kindly entertained by a servant with tobacco and coffee, and were showed several very stately rooms. 'Twas a palace fit for a King.

The second house we visited was a Jew's house; where we first knocked at the outermost gate, and, a servant coming, we told him our desire was only to see the house; and he went in to acquaint his master. We would not follow him in, because it was the Jew's sabbath day, and about eleven of the clock. One of the gentlemen of the house came out himself, and led us in, and seemed to take it ill that we would make any scruple at all of coming in; "for", says he, "I am much beholden to any stranger that he will take so much pains as to come to see my house." He led us into a spacious room, in the midst of which was a large fountain, with four cocks flinging up water and falling into the fountain; which was a square about eight yards in compass. And each end of the room was also a four-square; and ascended three or four steps, the square being spread over with rich carpets, and velvet and plush long cushions, richly embroidered with gold, lay close on to another round about the carpets. There were four gentlemen who were all three parts fuddled,[190] and had been merrymaking with their women, who had absented themselves at our approaching (but some of them peeped at us at a door as we came by them). For thus they spend their sabbath: in the morning about sun-rising they do their devotions, and all the day following they spend in frolicking with their women. They made us extremely

welcome with exceeding good wines of several sorts, and several sorts of biscuit-cakes and sweetmeats, such as I never saw before; and showed us their gardens, and tame pigeons, and everything but their women. This whole street is all inhabited by Jews, where we met boys and girls as fair and as well-complexioned as English.

The third house was also a Turk's house, and a great man; viz. the Gaw, or Master of the janizaries. Here we were also courteously entertained with tobacco and coffee and chocolate; and here we saw some of his breeding mares, which were valued at a high rate, but looked like very jades. Thence we came back to dinner, only just looking into another house as we came.

(14): Mr Huntington preached a farewell sermon, occasioned by the departure of those four gentlemen which came with us, for England; the text was *Gen.*, xxxii, 9: "Return unto thy country". The gentlemen were Captain Browne, Captain Ashby, Captain Hussy,[191] Captain Sherman. Also there came with us Mr Hill and Mr Barrow.

I was invited to dine with Mr Delew, where we had an excellent dinner, and store of good canary.

After dinner we walked about a mile from the city, and saw several gardens and pleasant plantations; and so returned.

15: Now intending for Scanderoon to-morrow morning (according to the custom of the place), being accompanied by Mr Huntington, I go to most of the Franks' houses to take my leave; and this was a hard

A DIVAN AT ALEPPO

(Showing a Cadi, Aga of the Janizaries, Page, and Bashaw)

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task. Now also I received presents from many of them, who presented me with five dollars for the moſt part. At 4 a-clock, at Assera, the whole nation was invited to a treat at the present Captain's house, Mr Browne, who, because he was now to go for England, made this feaſt to take his leave of his friends; but it was the greateſt that ever I saw. The table was made twenty-four yards in length, and the dishes placed according to the same fashion as they were at the Consul's feaſt, and ſtood as close one to the other as it was possible to place them; and the middle dish all along the table ſtanding upon the other four that were next to it. They were furnished with the beſt things that could be procured there, with great plenty of wines of all sorts. There were above an hundred princely dishes, besides cheese, and other small dishes of rare kinds of sweetmeats. And sixty and odd Franks sat down, besides many that would rather ſtand or walk about. This did far exceed the Consul's feaſt. Here we drank parting healths, till many could drink no longer, thinking we should have taken our journey the next morning. But this evening we were commanded by the Mussilem and the Mean not to ſtir.

16: This morning at 8 of the clock, to give me all the favour that lay in their power, I was, by the noble Consul, Mr Gamaliell Nightingale, and the Captain and the reſt of the English gentry, created Knight of the Malhue, or Valley of Salt. The manner of it was as followeth:

Firſt there was a dispensation voted for my not

going to the Valley of Salt,[192] in regard of our present affairs. Then, taking into my mouth some salt from the point of the sword, which was in lieu of a bit of the mould of the Valley which had I been there I should have taken from the sword's point into my mouth, which was as bad as salt could be, I kneeled down: the Consul takes the sword in his hand (but it had no hilt on it, yet was it, as they tell you, King David's sword), and then, brandishing it over his head three times and looking big awhile, at last with a more mild countenance, he pronounces these ensuing words:

Thou hardy wight, I dub thee Knight
With this old rusty blade:
Rise up Sir H. T., Knight of the Malhue,
As good as ever was made.

Then I, rising up and kissing the sword with a great deal of gravity, do make low obeisance to all the company, and give them all thanks; after which the Chawes first reads these ensuing verses aloud to me, and after presents them fair-written unto me:

Now hear what you're oblig'd to do,
You noble Knights of the Malhue.
Or as some others please to call't,
Brave Knights of the Valley of Salt.
First you must love and help each other,
With the affection of a brother.
Anger or wrath must not appear
To have a motion in your sphere.
But meek as lambs, or sheep, or wether,

So you must love and live together.
From virtue let not aught entice,
Or steal your minds. Eschew all vice.
Be to all pleasing, gentle, kind,
Brave symptoms of a knight-like mind.
You must endeavour to redress
All that's a-miss. And if distress
On brother, widow, wife, or maid
Fall, you must stand up to their aid.
Your promises to all these rights
You must perform as you are Knights.

These are the orders to be observed by the noble Knights of the Malhue or Valley of Salt, which is twenty miles beyond Aleppo. Dated May 16th, 1676.[193]

This ceremony being ended, a little after 10 a-clock our noble Consul, attended with most of the English in town, went to the Cadi (who is in the nature of a Lord Chief Justice) to know the cause of our restraint. There was a great chair, richly gilt, carried by two men before the Consul all along the street; and when we came to his house the chair was carried up into the room, and placed just against the Cadi, who sat like a tailor on his carpets, with his bugger boy leaning on a pillow close by him on his right hand, and two more with him like counsellors. The Cadi had on his head, instead of his turban, a globe neatly covered with fine linen, which lay all in very neat pleats, very exactly done, and was near of the compass of a strike, or bushel. Our Consul presently sat down in his chair,

with his hat on, and cocked; and, having drank a cup of chocolate, and had his beard perfumed (as is their custom, in token of his honour), he propounds our case very briefly, but by an interpreter. The Cadi by his interpreter gives his answer, and pleads ignorance in the business. But in comes an old Turk in poor clothes, stroking his long beard awry, with his nether lip and chin quivering, holding out his left arm at its full length with the three foremost fingers stretched out and his thumb and little finger clunched together in the middle of his hand, and pulling one of the little buttons that were on the bosom of his dulaman[194] with the fore-finger and the thumb of his right hand (all which are signs of verity of speech), and alleges that a Maltese Corsair[195] had taken a sike[196] which was laden with his goods, and that the English were accessory to it and had bought many of his goods; and he proferred to make oath of this, though it was a very lie. After a little examination, his oath would not be taken; and the Cadi told us that we might go when we pleased. Notwithstanding all this, at 1 a-clock a messenger was sent to deny Captain Harman's passage. 17: This morning we thought all of us to go out, and provisions were made for the same purpose; and our janizary told our Consul that he would secure our passage with his life. But the Mean, that is the Deputy Governor, sent us word that the men might go, but not their goods. And this was as bad as the t'other.

We dined twenty of us at Mr Harrington's, at a great feast. And at night command was given from

the Mean not to suffer any Frank or Frank's servant to ride or carry anything out of the city.

18: This morning our Consul sent a messenger on purpose to the Lord Finch[197] to Stambul, to acquaint him with our grievances, who will be there in ten days. We are still restricted, but promised to have liberty next morning.

19: This morning our Consul, being almost impatient knowing that our ships were ready to sail for England, being accompanied with a great train of brave Englishmen and also some Dutch and French, went boldly to their seraglio, a very gallant place; where we find the Cadi, the Mean, the Mussilem, and the Master of the janizaries (the four governors of the city) all together. After the ceremonies before specified were over, our Consul began with great courage to charge them with breach of articles, and to demand satisfaction for our false imprisonment; and told them that, if he could not be heard there, he would go with lights[198] to Stambul, and make the Great Turk acquainted with the business. This dispute grew higher and higher for at least half an hour; the old Turk aggravating what he had alleged, with a great deal of earnestness and confidence —I might say impudence. In the heat of all this discourse came in a packet from Stambul to our Consul, which he commanded to be opened before them all; "for", says he, "there may be in it something may concern our business": and so it proved; for there was an order or express to the Mussilem from the Grand Seigneur to confirm and establish all the commands and privileges that were formerly made

concerning the English. At the sight of which, the Turks looked very dejectedly one upon the other, and presently gave us all our liberty without paying so much as an asper,[199] the Mussilem speaking these words in their language: "The order is good, and must be observed by my head"; making all of them a low bow to us all.

So back we return with great triumph and rejoicing; and all provide for our journey next morning. But such a parting of friends did I never see. The kind treat, and loth to depart, ended at my chamber; for the Consul went to each of their chambers particularly to bid them farewell, and mine was the last he visited, being the next to his own, where he gave me two chequins.[200]

To give you a small description of this city of Aleppo before I leave it. It is a very ancient city, as the buildings sufficiently show. The Arabians call it Haleb,[201] which signifies milk: indeed it looks very white afar off, in regard the tops of the houses are tarras.[202] But this city was built by Halebius,[203] a King there as the tradition goes, which was therefore near his name called Aleppo; but I could not see or hear of any of his monuments there. 'Tis four miles in compass, and environed with a very high wall, which is much decayed almost in all parts of it; in which are several fair gatehouses, especially two of them like little castles. The streets are very narrow, and full of corners and turnings, and paved with flat stones. The buildings are many of them very stately, but much ruinated all over the city: in the midst of

VIEW OF ALEPPO, *circa* 1794

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which there are several large ſtreets arched over the top like to a bridge, no light coming in save only at some small holes on the very top or at the great gates which are at the ends. These places are called the bazaar, or market-place, for they are like our exchange, shops on each side of all manner of trades, nobody dwelling there, but are open and full of company all the day but shut at night at 9 a-clock or before.

Their mosques are ſtately places: of these [there] are so many that I could never hear their certain number. We muſt not go into them. Nay, their very women are not ſuffered to come into them, being, as they themſelves call them, unclean creatures, made only for the use of man, and do defile the mosques by their coming in as much as a Chriſtian doth, and are not admitted to any devotion.

There are in some part of this city places made with great charge (as I am told) wherein ſtrange sorts of fiſh are kept, for the use of the Grand Seigneur. The men go generally in long garments; so also do the women, but they have all of them a veil before their faces when they go forth of the doors, excepting some few young ones which were slaves, either taken or bought of Chriſtian parents, and licensed whores—of which I saw only three. Their choice women never come out into the ſtreets, but they have their peep-holes, as appears by a pleasant ſtory.

Not above half a year before I came thither, came a noble Engliſhman, who muſt be nameleſs: he had not been many weeks in town; but by his walking about to see the city, he was taken notice of by one of

the chief Turks' ladies of the city, who sent a Turk to him to acquaint him that his lady, a person of great quality, did desire his company, with assurances that he should have courteous reception and return as safe as he came thither, and withal that she would have no denial.

The gentleman consults with the Consul, who in short told him he must go or expect to be stabbed the next time he went out. Seeing no remedy, he goes with the Turk, who brings him by back-ways into a stately house, and there to a beautiful lady, who entertained him above what was promised; and with her he stayed three nights, and was after safely convoyed back, and with a great gratuity. Several passages he related to the Consul. Much about a fortnight after, the same Turk comes to him again, with whom he went, stayed three nights, and returned as before. Within the same compass of time she sends a third time; he goes and stays two nights, and the third night she told him that her husband was unexpectedly come home, but bade him not trouble himself at all, for that he should be as secure as ever he was before, and that she would lie with him that night also: which she performed accordingly, and the gentleman returned safe and well rewarded. But being so near being discovered and knowing that the lady would not be long without his company, he went suddenly out of the city; whose departure was much lamented by the lady, as was after known to the Consul, by the Turk which used to come for him; and this shows they love the English.

The chief beauty of this city is to be seen from the top of a hill, which is about a mile or more West of the city, over which hill lies the road to Scanderoon. From hence the city shows most beautiful; it stands round, the buildings all of stone and flat on the top (where they lie all summer), and done with tarras; looks white, and very beautiful. Next you see the cupolas,[204] which are [in] abundance, not only on their mosques but on many of their great buildings, rising up above the rest of their buildings like so many pretty mountains over the plains: as also abundance of round towers, of which there is one at every mosque, from which the Turks are called to their devotions (six times in twenty-four hours) in these words or very near them, viz.: "La illah illella Muhemet re sul Allah": "There is but one God, and Mahomet His Prophet." These that call are called Talisman.[205] Another adorning is the cypress-trees, which are very high and green, and all over the town; which make a very pretty show. And last of all the castle, which, though it stand on the South side of the city, yet from that hill it seems to stand in the very midst of all the city, and on a round hill far above the highest tower or place in the city. Thus the place looks most pleasantly from that hill, but when you come into the city your expectation is frustrated, where you find abundance of ruinous walls and houses, the Turks repairing none —only the English keep their houses in good repair. About the town are brave gardens and pleasant plantations, wherein grow all manner of garden-stuff, apples, pears, plums, apricots, peaches, cherries,[206]

figs, pistachios, and other things; being made more fruitful by a small brook which runs close by the town, and is only big enough to furnish the town with fresh-water. Here is also great plenty of good mutton, lamb, all manner of fowls; of late, some beef, brought only to the English.

20: This morning by 7 a-clock, accompanied with his worship the Consul, and at leaſt two hundred English, French, Dutch, and Venetians, we begin our journey back to Scanderoon. These go with us all to a place called the Old Cane, being a decayed building, like to an old quadrangle, where we had a treat of several good things and plenty of wine, brought thither by the Consul's appointment: it was four miles from Aleppo. Here the disconsolate Consul and great part of the company bid us adieu, with thousands of well-wishes.

Towards the evening, the Captain and I, and some of the Aleppines, leave the caravan and go to a hillside on the left hand, where was the relic of a famous ſtructure, and by it a great church. In some parts of this house there were pillars of whole ſtones of at leaſt six yards long and of a vaſt thickness, and on the top of them other pillars of the like length and bigness. The buildings borne up by these were of great massy ſtone, hewed so true that they closed together, never having any mortar laid between them. These were all of such a vaſt bigness that it is miraculous to think how they should ever be raised to such a great height. Here was a well of excellent water; and all over the hillside were the ruins of great buildings. From hence

we went over a plain to another hillside called Holleea, among the rocky mountains; where were some pitiful habitations made in the ruins of those that had been sumptuous buildings. This did seem to have been formerly some large city, and only a lovely plain parted this and that from whence we came; all their cities having formerly been built on the sides of hills.

Here we find sepulchres, or burying-places, made by much art and labour on the side of the hill in the main rock, which lies bare, having not so much as grass or any the leaſt earth upon it. These sepulchres are much about the breadth of a saw-pit, and have about six descents, or stairs; at the bottom of those an entrance of about a yard square, and a door at leaſt a foot thick of the same ſtone, and turning upon [pivots][207] of the same ſtone at the top and bottom of each door; yet are these cut and poised so exactly that you pull them open as easily as you may a wainscot door. When you have opened this door, you find one or two or three stairs, and then you are on a flat floor as smooth as can be: the roof and side also of the like smoothness. In some of these sepulchres you shall have but one room, in some two, and in some three rooms, of the breadth of a bay of building and at the leaſt seven foot high. In many of these, and especially on the right hand as you come in, you shall find arches cut also out of the main rock, every one having a trough, or ſtone coffin, in it, wherein the bodies of the deceased was laid: every one of these sepulchres belonging to a particular family. Over the mouths of some of these were laid great ſtones, of an incredible bigness, so that

there is no getting into them. But I was in several of them; some of them have some water in them, but not so much as a bone in any of them. All this great hill, as they tell me, is full of these burying-places for at leaſt three miles in length, beside the breadth, which cannot be less than a mile to the sight.

Upon this bare hillside we lie this night in little ease, having nothing between the ſtone and us but an old carpet and a ſtone thruſt under the carpet inſtead of a pillow: 'twas bad lodging and very cold. Our horses were all below in the plains. I crept close to the Lord Paget, and got a share of his pillow, and I had one small nap; but I awaked quickly, and, opening my eyes, I was almoſt frighted, for the air was full of sparks of fire, which was a ſtrange sight at the firſt. Then I perceived they danced all about; at which considering, I found them to be a kind of a gnat with a tail like a glow-worm.[208]

(21): About 4 of the clock in the morning we mount again, and, having passed over all the rocky mountains the worſt way that ever I rode, we came in the morning about 10 of the clock to the river Ephraim, where we pitched three tents; went to prayers, and dined, and some slept awhile. Soon after juſt twenty of us mount for Scanderoon, leaving there thirteen and their servants; who intended to ſtay there to shoot and take their pleasure thereabouts for two or three days. But the parting was with many tears.

From hence we come to a place where there was not a house to be seen, yet was there thousands of graves—some old, many new, some with graveſtones over

them, and some with upright ſtones at head and feet, and of several fashions; yet all lay Eaſt and Weſt. These were by a place called the Hot Springs, of which there are two remarkable, both coming out of the side of a hill, and rising upon the sunrising. I could not discover any town or house near them, though you might see a long way, there being no woods or bushes to hinder the sight; yet were there several beaten paths from all parts to them both, but especially to the biggeſt of them, as if it had been to a market-town. They were near half a mile diſtant one from the other; and these graves were upon a long bank that was between them. We alighted at the biggeſt of them, and I put my hand into the water, which was so hot, boiling up in the middle of the pit, that I could not without pain endure my hand in it. The place itself was nothing but a dirty puddle, the bankside about it being broken and fallen into it, and so far from the least handsomeness that there was not a ſtone placed about it nor anything to sit down upon; but, if you would reach to the water, you muſt tread in the mud to come to it, there not being so much as cleansing done to it; yet certainly it was a very sovereign water. The water was very clear, but of a bluish colour, much like the water that Roman vitriol is dissolved in; and towards the bank 'tis very slimy, having a blue film, or skin, over it. The taſte as noisome as is the savour, both like brimſtone[209] when 'tis burning—so nauseous[210] that our horses would not be forced to come near it by near a hundred yards. The breadth was about six yards, and a current ran from it enough to drive a

small mill. Mr Hill put a half-dollar into the water; in two minutes time [it] was changed as yellow as any gold. The other was of the same nature, but less, and fuller of mud.

A little farther from hence, I (being the next to our janizary, who was the foremoſt of all the company) heard him speak ſtrange words to himself, and clapped his ſtirrups to his horse, and charged his pike towards the ground, and galloped forward. I followed him; and, looking before him, I saw a great serpent, as thick as the middle of an ordinary man: his colour was like blue-shining armour, and his back and sides and head seemed all rugged. He went away to a brake of bushes[211] which were not above ten yards then from him, and made but small haſte as if he did not much care to go or ſtay; lifting up his head a great deal higher than his body, and his tail higher than that, and turned in like a greyhound's when he ſtands at gaze; and so he went off opening his mouth very wide and chopping his white teeth together, and crept into a great hollow hole which went in under a shelf of a rock. He was at leaſt four yards long as he walked. There were many bones lay thereabouts, all broken in pieces; some of them might be easily discerned to be of men or women, and some of sheep and of several other creatures. And this place of his abode was on a plain, and in the midſt of the roadway.

In the evening we come to a place called the Broad Waters, where the whole caravan unloaded, in grass up to the middle. Here we spread our carpets in the very way, and lay down thinking to have got some

sleep; but we were quickly found out by the mosquitoes, or great gnats, which did so torment us that we could have no reſt; and here from the waterside and from among the reeds and flags came out a great herd of wild swine, and ran away to the hills.

22: About 1 of the clock at the farthest this morning we mount again, and are soon got to the plains of Antioch again, and so near to the village of the Arabians (of which I spake before) that we hear their cocks crow a-pace. Where, what with the darkness of the morning and the wilfulness of some that led the way, we part companies, the greateſt part going (as we supposed) on the left hand and the worſt way; fourteen of us, all Franks but one, went on the right hand, between the plains and the mountains, and we were so near to the mountaineers, or wild Arabians, that we often heard them talk one to the other: we looked every minute to have been beset by them, but the darkness sheltered us a little. After three hours we all meet again; and we fourteen, being the foremoſt, we met a messenger, who was sent on purpose to bid us make all the haſte we could possible else the ships would be gone before we come.

On we ride, and about two hours after we bait awhile at a spring, and eat some victuals—cold hens, chickens, cheese—and drink good wines; but the chiefeſt thing we wanted was sleep. But we could not ſtay for this. Having now rode to the top of some mountains called Byland Mountains, we might look over all the plains and with ease view the lake of Antioch and the mouth of the river Orontes and the

very caſtle and the walls of the city: also you might easily perceive the great breach in the side of the hill made formerly by an earthquake which brake out there and deſtroyed great part of the city; but now the greateſt part of the city ſtands a little lower, and nearer to the water. The city is not above six good miles from this place.

Here I, being very willing to be at my journey's end, was gotten the foremoſt of all, and I heard some piſtols fired before me, and as I thought very near me. And, being a little afraid of the Arabians, knowing that it was a place much frequented by them, for it was at a cross-road and at a narrow lane corner and also woods on all sides, I made my piſtol and sword ready, and made a halt for Captain Harman, who I knew was but a little behind me: but before he came to me two men beckoned me to come to them up a great bank out of the way. I refuſed (taking them for the Arabians), and ſtood on my guard till my fellow-traveller came to me. Then we perceived the plot; for Consul Low, of Scanderoon, with several other gentlemen came so far to meet us, which was fifteen miles, and they had sent the two men to turn us that way. So we went with them to the top of the hill, where we were welcomed with a treat of fish and flesh and good wines; and from thence we haſte five miles farther to Byland, where we made a halt about half an hour. And that evening we came ten miles farther, to Scanderoon, being met by all the English gentlemen, and a drum and pipe of the Greeks. And at our alighting from our horses were saluted with guns from

all the ships. Here we ſtay awhile at the English factory, and then all the Aleppines came on board of our ship, and ſtayed all night there.

23–24: Nothing but merriment, and preparing for sailing.

25: About 10 this morning we are under sail, but to small purpose, the wind being againſt us. Nothing but salutes and feaſting.

26: At 3 in the afternoon the *Dartmouth* goes back with those Aleppines which came only for love; our ship saluting them with fifteen guns, and she answering with as many. The *Providence* and *Martin* also saluted them. So we three (having left the *Dartmouth* and the *Guinea* to come after us) do ſtand for Cyprus.

27: We have passed Cape Porcus, and are againſt the Bay of Antioch.

(28): And now near the Eaſt end of Cyprus. I preached a sermon: *Matt.*, vi, 9.

29: The Birthday and Reſtoration Day of our sovereign King Charles II. I preached a sermon: text, *Psalm*, cxviii, 24. After dinner our Captain began the King's health, and fired eleven guns; the *Providence* nine; the *Martin* seven: the Aleppines give us wines galore. And much about sunsetting we [see] some part of the island of Cyprus.

30: And to-day at sunsetting we weather Cape Andrea.[212]

31: The Aleppines feaſted aboard the *Martin*, and were entertained with abundance of guns at the drinking of healths. At 9 a-clock a cricket sang very merrily

in the foot of our mizzen, and was also heard a little the night before; there was also a death-watch heard in the gunroom. *Deus vortat bene!*

June 1st: Between 11 and 12 the sun was so much eclipsed that we can see plainly one ſtar close by the sun shine very bright; and juſt at that time we come to an anchor in Saline Roads.[213]

2: Our Captain and Aleppines all dine ashore at the English Consul's house at Larnaca, where they ſtay all night, but our Captain returns to the ship.

3: Nothing but drink healths to our friends in good Cyprus wine.

(4): I preached a sermon: To love our enemies.

5: I go on shore to buy wine to carry (God willing) into England; and I dined at our Consul's at Larnaca.

6–7: Both days of great mirth.

8: Mr John Fogg's birthday, and we keep it full merrily.

10: My wedding-day, and we keep this after the same manner.

(11): No sermon; we had this day came into us, to our great joy, the *Dartmouth* and the *Guinea*, which we left at Scanderoon. This is Mr James Hodgson's wedding-day, and we keep it merrily.

12: Wonderful hot weather, yet we drink Cyprus-wine.

13: *Grande feſto* on board our ship to-day, for all the Franks on shore; and made by our Aleppines. At 7 this evening we get up one anchor, to make ready for sailing in the morning.

14: By 4 in the morning we are under sail. And

then we part with Mr Robinson and Mr Pye, who go from Cyprus to Stambul; and were saluted by all our ships as they passed back.

15: We are as far as the lighthouse, on Cape Tygta.[214]

16: We are got forwards about six leagues, and discover three sails under the shore: the headmoſt ſtood clear off, the other two ſtayed to view us; and put out the Maltese colours, and passed by us.

17: The wind is cross. A ship called the *Bear* came down the wind upon us. The maſter's name was Mr Williams, of Deal; who came from Leghorn hither in seventeen days, bound for Scanderoon.

(18): I preached a sermon: "Which art in Heaven". We are with much ado passed Cape Gata; and are there calmed.

19: We are got at leaſt onwards seven leagues. A fine slant.[215]

20: Farewell to Cyprus, for we cannot see any part of it.

21: We go slowly on.

22: *Grande feſto* by our Aleppines.

23: A cross-wind.

24: And so ſtill, driving us towards Egypt.

(25): Only prayers. Our Captain and Aleppines dine on board the *Dartmouth*.

26: The Aleppines give the seamen a puncheon of wine; and to the gentlemen and officers two sheep, two goats, and a puncheon of wine. And 'tis mirth enough to see the several kinds of vessels the seamen bring to carry away their wine withal.

27: This morning we see the Egyptian shore all

along; and it is that part of Egypt which is called Numidia, viz. the place of Jupiter Ammon, the great Oracle.

And now give me leave to forget our voyage awhile, and give a small historical discourse of Egypt and the parts adjacent, having brought you before along the Mediterranean to Egypt.

Egypt lies West from Arabia. The Holy Land and Arabia being joined together in *terra firma;* and so likewise Egypt and the Holy Land are joined together in *terra firma* by an isthmus, or neck of land. So that it is dubious to say whether that neck of land be Arabia, Palestina, or Egypt: how ever it be, yet it is plain that these three, viz. Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt, are all in *terra firma;* and the great bay called Sinus Arabicus, or the Red Sea, lieth on the West part of Arabia and between Arabia and Egypt.

This I note to confute a vulgar error among many, concerning the Israelites passing through the Red Sea.

'Tis true that they passed through the Red Sea, that is they crossed that bay called Sinus Arabicus, from before Pi-hahiroth, to the wilderness of Ethan in Arabia. As *Numb.*, xxxiii, 8; and so also *Exod.*, xv, 22. Some understand that they went across the main sea, and came out on the clean contrary side again; when as they went in, as I may say, on this side of the bay, and only went cross the bay, which is taken to be fifty miles; and came out on the same side again which they went in at, though far from the same place.

That Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt are in *terra*

firma is apparent, though some would have the river Jordan to part Arabia from the Holy Land; but part of the Holy Land lieth between the deserts of Arabia and the river Jordan, viz. the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, which was near Jericho, and ſtood full Eaſt.

This country of Egypt did yield abundance of corn; so that it was termed (as also was Sicilia) "*Horreum populi Romani*". 'Tis very rare to have any rain fall there; therefore was it so much the more terrible to have rain, hail, and thunder and lightning running on the ground.

There is usually a miſt in some seasons of the year, leaving a small dew on the earth; but 'tis watered by the river Nilus, which ariseth in Preſter John's country, which lieth in the North-Eaſt part of Africa.

This river at certain seasons of the year doth overflow the whole country of Egypt, excepting some few risings on which their towns and cities for the moſt part are built. And doth so thoroughly water the earth, and also manure or enrich it, that it brings forth fruit abundantly.

There are poſts set in several convenient places to observe how high the waters do rise. And 'tis observed that if they overflow in ordinary places above seventeen cubits, then 'tis too much; if under fifteen, the moiſture will not be sufficient: either of these is prejudicial. The overflowing of this river, and at such seasons yearly, is one of the wonders of the world: several probable conjectures have been made at the reason of it, but the moſt probable may be this:

There is in Prester John's country (as some do affirm) the head or rising of this river (though others strive to fetch it from the Lake Zembre, which lies farther South), near to the which are those hills called *Lunæ Montes*, on the which falls abundance of snow. At the melting of the which, and to prevent the too violent course of the waters, especially at that time, the inhabitants have made several dams and sluices and ponds to catch the water in, partly for their own convenience, to turn it to the watering of their own hilly grounds leisurely—which would otherwise by a violent course run from them hastily and do no good: and by this means also the waters come leisurely down to Egypt. For the maintenance of which dams and sluices the country of Egypt has (time out of mind) paid yearly a great tribute to Prester John; which payment being not long since detained by the great Turk, as an unnecessary charge and as an imposition for which they could give no reason, Prester John gave command to cut all the dams and sluices, which presently drowned all the land of Egypt, or great part of it, for three years; so that the Turk was forced to beg his peace with Prester John, and give not only the old tribute but a great sum of moneys also more for the repair of the dams and sluices.

Here learning, especially the mathematics and astronomy, have been very ancient.

And in these plains are those miraculous Pyramids, built by some of their Princes (who were usually buried under them), of the which three remain to this day. And here are those artists for embalming of

dead bodies, by which means the flesh and skin and colour will remain many hundreds of years uncorrupted; of which we have daily experience by bodies and parts brought from thence by merchants.

Here stands Memphis, one of the most eminent cities of the East, but now called Grand Cairo; unto the which one of the haven towns is Alexandria, a city famous for merchandise, of which Ammianus Marcellinus says that it hath scarce ever been known but that once in the day the sun hath shined over Alexandria. Here live many Christians, paying a yearly tribute to the Turk, under whose dominion all Egypt is.

Some have attempted to dig through that neck of land into the Red Sea, but have been forced to forbear, having considered that the sea would not only alter the waters of Nilus but also drown all Egypt, the sea lying three cubits higher.

The river Nilus is said to part Asia from Africa, and that river lies near the middle of Egypt; so that the country of Egypt is partly in Asia and partly in Africa: of which I shall speak hereafter.

28–30: These three days we sailed; yet we see no land.

July 1*st*: No land yet; but we drink healths to our friends in England.

(2): I preached a sermon of Faith, Hope, and Charity, from these words: "Our Father, which art in Heaven."

3: No land yet to be seen; and the wind is cross.

4: Our Aleppines dined on board the *Providence;* and now we see Candia, and are joyful.

5: By sunsetting we have passed the East end of Candia.

6: Little wind this day; and we are near the island Crispiana, but there calmed; and driven back by the current above half of the way to Scarpanto.

7–8: Cross-winds.

(9): I preached a sermon: "Hallowed be Thy name." We see three ships under the shore, which we take to be Maltese.

10–12: The wind cross and very high all these days. We left Candia the last night, hoping to see it no more this voyage.

13: A fair wind now, if it will but hold; and our Aleppines do dine on board the *Martin*.

14: The wind bad again.

15: But somewhat better to-day.

(16): I preached a sermon: "Hallowed be Thy name."

17–20: But a bare wind all this while.

21: Bad still. At 10 a-clock a great storm was ahead of us, but it did not reach us. Three great spouts fall in our sight, one to windward of us and two to leeward; and brought us a fair wind, but it did not hold above an hour at most.

22: The last night the *Providence* left us, and went more North.

(23): This morning we are under Goza. And when we thought we had been at the West end, it proved that we were at the East end of the island of Malta.

No sermon; but prayers. At 8 at night we come to an anchor in Malta Roads and just before the mouth of the harbour; and we hear that not any have died there of the plague for three weeks. Some say the number that died was 12,000 at the least. Here we hear of some of our merchants taken by the Algerines[216] for want of a pass, which we fear may stay our ship here.

24: We fetch water, and haste away; for here is nothing to be had but some garden-stuff; and the people are very thin, being almost all destroyed by the plague. It hath also raged very much at Tripoli; and at Tunis there have died two hundred thousand and upwards.

25: At 10 this morning we are under sail; and, God willing, for fair England. *Buone voyagio!* our ship is very leaky. We discover a ship Eastward, and bore towards, supposing she was what we found her, viz. the *Providence*, which left us as we supposed willingly on Friday night; but he says no. On Monday last, at Malta, was a man hanged for stealing goods out of the houses of the dead and selling them in town; and a ship burnt that was so much infected that whosoever came in her died within two hours.

26–27: So calmed and driven back that we are not three leagues from Malta.

28: We tow our ships, for fear of being driven ashore on Goza.

29–(30): All calm. I preached a sermon: "Hallowed be Thy name." A shark caught by the men of the *Martin* nine foot long.

31: From 8 last night to 8 this morn we have run seven leagues.

Aug. 1*st:* This morning we see Sicily, and should have seen it long before had it not been hazy weather. We see a lusty ship by the shore, but know not what she is.

2: The *Dartmouth* is ordered to bear down to see what ship she is, and finds her to be an English ship, the *Thomas & Francis;* the Commander Captain Faulstaff, and comes from Smyrna; and before they could come up to us, we discover five sail ahead of us. We make a clear ship; and all things are ready for a battle. At 4 a-clock they come near us, and we see them to be Frenchmen, four men-of-war and a settee. The Admiral sends his pinnace to salute us, and asks us if we wanted anything; our Captain said he wanted nothing that he would be beholding to such rogues as they were for. The gentleman that came was an Englishman, who desired our Captain not to take it ill, for that they had order from the French King to furnish the English with whatsoever they wanted: our Captain gave them thanks, and said he wanted nothing. And so we parted. It was at the West end of Sicily, close by a city called Mazzara.

3: We have left Sicily, and see Pantellaria. Great lightnings. At 10 at night Captain Harman left us, *nolens volens;* at whom our Captain commanded two guns to be fired from our ship, and four from the *Dartmouth;* but did him no hurt.

4: We have run the last night seven leagues; and at

night we have passed by the first of the maritime islands, called Maretimo;[217] and are very near the Jarbees, certain rocks that lie near the top of the water and are discoverable only by the breakings; *ergo* is said to be the most dangerous place in the Straits. Our Aleppines went on board the *Thomas & Francis* this afternoon, and had noble entertainment; and at their coming off were saluted with seven guns to one boat, and five to the other.

5: We have a small gale; and go on, as lawyers do, to Heaven.

(6): I preached a sermon on the old text. All, almost all in our ship, gentle and simple, have got the Turkish riff.[218]

7: We see a great part of Sardinia; and at night are under the island of Callary, standing very high.

8: Much mirth last night in bowls of punch; and little wind.

9: All calmed all this day, till in the evening a small gale.

10: We are close under Monte Christo,[219] a high rock in the sea; and suddenly we have Illbay or Lillbow[220] on our starboard side, and have another flat island on our larboard, called Pianosa.[221] This day our noble Aleppines did make *grande festo* for all the gentlemen in our squadron, where we had a noble Venetian belonging to the *Thomas & Francis*, who brought with him from Smyrna a Greek lady, at a vast charge to him; and made us happy with her company at our ship at dinner. She was wondrous rich in habit, and counted the beauty of the Levant; but I have seen

far handsomer in England among our milkmaids. 'Tis calm all this night.

11: This morning we leave Corsica and Caparero[222] both on our larboard side, and can discover the main land of Italy.

12: We can now see Leghorn, so much longed for; at 2 a-clock we have the Melora[223] on our larboard side; and at 3 we come to anchor in Leghorn Road, where we find six more English ships, and three French. The English all salute us, and we answer accordingly. Here we all expect letters from England; but find none.

(13): No prayers to-day; nor like to have prattick; yet they tell us that to-morrow we shall have provisions off. The Lady Clutterbuck[224] hath sent us presents, and Florence wines, beef, mutton, and salads, and all manner of fruits, which are here very good.

14: We fetch water; and we hear of the Algerines securing many of our merchant-ships, thinking no less but that it will prove a war.

15: More water and provisions come aboard; but the Leghornese are unkind to us. Things are too dear to be bought here.

16: Bread and beverage-wine brought on board to-day.

17: At 6 this morning (many salutes having passed on all sides) we are under sail: and having passed the Melora, viz. a small rock lying in the Road and but a little apparent, we lie by, and ſtay for our pinnace. At 2 a-clock came two Algerines near us, within three leagues of Leghorn, and presently tack from us again.

18: Calm all night; and so also to-day. About 11 of the clock came near us five galleys; and one more about three leagues astern. When we had put abroad our colours they (being Genoese) sent their boat to inquire after the Algerines which were near us the last night; and, having received our information, they left us, and stood toward the shore. 'Twas just by the island called Gorgona.[225]

19: Little wind; yet we are over against the head Cape of Corsica. At 4 our Captain and Aleppines went aboard the Tartan,[226] which is to carry them over, to serenade and make merry.

(20): I preached a sermon: "Hallowed be Thy name." We met the *Unity* to-day. And now we are entering the Gulf of Lyons, which is at least three hundred and seventy leagues over. God send us well over it!

21: This morning we are close under the isles of Aries.[227] At half an hour after 9 our noble Aleppines departed from us. We gave them nine guns; the *Dartmouth* seven; the *Martin* nine. They saluted us with all their peteraroes several times over. Their good company will be much missed aboard our ship. They are for Marseilles;[228] and will be there this night. No sooner do we part with our Aleppines but we discover eight sails coming towards us from the shore; which we soon discover to be Algerine men-of-war. Now we make all things ready, thinking no less but that they would fight us. But when we came something near them, their Admiral sent his boat to us, and commands [us] on aboard to give him account

what we were and whither bound. Our Captain, being very angry at such a message, commands to run out all our guns; but the Algerines, not well liking that sight, tacked from us as fast as they could. They took a Venetian of thirty-six guns this morning.

22: We have no wind, and a troublesome rolling sea. At 10 came a small gale; we caulk up our portholes and our starboard side. And, when we thought to have crossed this dangerous gulf without any trouble, in the evening arose two small clouds in the North, which were coal-black, and in less than half an hour's time overspread all the heavens in sight, and brought such a vehement wind with it, that [we] were forced to lower all our yards, and split our mainsail; in which trouble Phynny Shreusbury brake his leg between the mainmast and mainyard, and Roger Lyswell fell from the mainyard upon a gun, being much bruised.

23: This storm continues all this day. At 5 at night, being forced to run before the wind, and out of our right course, we came by Minorca,[229] and close under Port Mahon, where we lie by, for the *Dartmouth* and *Martin*. The first came presently; the other at 9 a-clock.

24: Bartholomew Day, and we have a brave gale; and we passed the Caparero.

25: Still a fine gale to bring us to England sooner than we expected.

26: This morning past Cape St Paul. At night against Cape de Gat.

(27): I preached a sermon: "Thy kingdom come." We have a true Levant wind,[230] which brings us on

apace. We have passed the Granada Hills; and at 3 a-clock paſt Malaga.

28: Now are we under Gibraltar. At 6 at night we come to an anchor in Tangier Road, and salute the town with nine guns, who salute us again with as many from the Mole. And here we are soon informed of the Algerines taking of the *Guinea* and the *Quaker* ketch, whose loss was much lamented.

And now, having left the Mediterranean, give me leave to return to Egypt, where I left, and give a small relation of Africa.

Africa, the third part of the world, lieth Weſt from Egypt; which extends itself from thence to *Caput Bonæ Spei* and to the Hill Atlas in the Weſt; and is divided into several countries.

Cyrene, or Africa Minor, lies next to Egypt, where ſtood that famous oracle called Jupiter Ammon; all the country where this oracle ſtood being a wilderness. Where Alexander marching with his army, for four days' space found neither grass, tree, water, man, bird, nor beaſt, but a deep sand. This is now termed a part of Egypt. And from hence to Hercules' Pillar is called Barbary, though it contain several kingdoms. And from hence to Tripoli is the King of Tripoli's jurisdiction; for which he is a tributary to the great Turk.

The city of Tripoli ſtands in a fruitful plain; yet one part of the town climbs up to the top of a round hill, having a ſtrong wall about it; and is in compass much about two miles, the wall being furnished with several pieces of cannon. Their harbour is very

secure, having but one passage leading into it, and that very narrow and as it were a lane hemmed in with several black rocks on the right hand and the shore on the left; up the which you come near two miles before you be in the harbour. And just at the entrance into this narrow passage was built, while we lay against the city, a strong fort, of at least twenty guns, to secure the passage. The harbour is very large when you are come into it. On the left hand stands a strong castle, just before you the city wall; and on the right hand an exceeding strong fortification, which they call the Mandrake, which is built round of itself; and a wall with battlements on each side running from it to the town; and as full of guns as it can lie. The town all built of stone; the houses but low—no glass windows. The plague was so much in it that I went not ashore. Their country round about seems to be very fruitful; where they have two crops of wheat every year, of once sowing. Abundance of dates and other fruits, musk-melons, water-melons, infinite of all garden-stuff; and much plenty of beef, mutton, and all manner of poultry and other provisions.

Mauritania Cæsariensis lies next. In this country stood that famous city Carthage; supposed to be built by Queen Dido, who came from Tyrus. Some pieces of towers and walls remain to this day; and also part of Queen Dido's tomb is standing upon a rise near the sea. And several foundations and pieces of walls are to be seen as you row in a boat to go into Tunis. And there are several vaults underground, wherein people now live, which were part of Carthage.

Great wars were between the Romans and Carthaginians for the priority; but at the last the Romans (at the earnest desire of Cato, who pleading concluded always thus: *Delenda est Carthago!*) razed it to the ground, fearing such a powerful neighbour. More West stands Utrica, and Hippo, where St Augustine was bishop. This whole country is called the kingdom of Tunis, which is also, as well as Tripoli, stipendiary to the Turk. Mauritania Tingitana lies more West still, and by the Mediterranean; and so-called from Tangier, the chief city there; but some will have it not to stand where Tangier now stands but on the other side of the bay. The people of this country are those which in all old histories are called Moors.

And at the Straits of Gibraltar or Gibbettore, called the Straits Mouth, did Hercules set up his Pillars—one upon the Barbary, the other on the Spanish shore, opposite the one to the other. *Ergo* these seas were called of old *Freta Herculea*.

In the West part of this country stands the hill called Atlas Minor, and in the South, Atlas Major, which for its height is said to carry Heaven on his shoulders.

Here is the kingdom of Fez, lying towards the Mediterranean; and the kingdom of Morocco on the other side. These are both Saracens, and so are their people: they hold league with the Turk, and some Christian Princes, only for traffic.

In the South parts of Africa is scarce anything remarkable, save that there are men and beasts of strange shapes; as, some men with heads like dogs

or hogs; some with no head; some with only one large leg and foot; as there are the same strange shapes in the North parts of Europe and Asia.[231]

Beyond Morocco is Guinea, whose chief merchandise is gold and elephants' teeth, of which there is great plenty.

More South lieth the kingdom called Mani-Congo; and more South, so far as ten degrees beyond the tropic of Capricorn is the land's end, being a promontory, and called by Vasco da Gama, who first found it out, *Caput Bonæ Spei.* He was a Portuguese, and named this place so in hopes that the land might there turn to the North—and so it did; and following that course [he] found the way to the East Indies. You may read more of this country in Osorius,[232] and Petrus Maffæus.[233]

In the land of Africa lieth that large country of Prester John, or Presbiter John, or Pretiosus Johannes; his country stretching East to part of the Red Sea; on the North to Egypt; on the South to Mani-Congo. He is not only an absolute Prince, but hath also a prelatical jurisdiction over them. They are all Christians, and it is thought have continued so ever since our Saviour Christ's time; and were converted first by the Chamberlain of Candace, the Queen of Ethiopia, who was instructed concerning Christ by Philip the Evangelist (*Acts*, viii).

They owe no superiority to the Bishop of Rome, yet they differ from the Western Church in many things. They still retain circumcision, which the Jews held in that time when Philip instructed them; and probably

it was because Philip was soon taken from them, and he had no farther instruction from any one, as we read in Scripture of, but was only baptized—therefore was left imperfect in other ceremonies of the Church.

In this country ariseth the river Niger, so famous: it is thought to have in it the most and best precious stones in the world; which riseth from the lake Zembre, coming from the mount. From which place also ariseth the river of Zaire, running westward; and Zuanca, running towards the South; and Nilus towards the North; and Niger running partly East; which river, having run a certain space from this lake, runs into the earth as it were at a great mouth, and runneth unseen under part of the earth for sixty miles' space, and then rising again makes a great river.

There are also several other countries in Africa, wherein are men and beasts of strange shapes, verifying the ancient saying: *Africa semper aliquid novi affert:* and the reason is easily given, for, there being but few watering-places and the country hot and all manner of cattle meeting at those places do many times couple with beasts of another kind; and thence proceeds a new species, having part of the one and part of the other. And now having no more land to speak of, I shall return back to Tangier, where I left our ship.

29: This day we take in fresh-water, and caulk[234] our ship, having nothing else to do; for we have no prattick, which we take ill from Englishmen.

30: By 4 this morning we are under sail, and for

Cadiz[235] As we go we view the coasts of Spain, and have a fair prospect of the city Medina. At 6 we come to anchor in the Bay of Bulls, before Cadiz; and find there the *Yarmouth* and *Swan*, bound for the Straits.

31: Here we are also denied prattick: they will receive nothing from us, nor let us have anything from them. So we shall have no wine. At 5 in the afternoon we are under sail, but we stay for our pinnace, which came not till 7; then we sail for England.

Sept. 1*st*: Next-door to a calm: and, for fear of foul weather and also to ease our ship that is so leaky, we strike fourteen of our guns into the hold.

2: Now entering on the coasts of Portugal; but 'tis very hazy weather.

(3): I preached on the old text; and we can see no land as yet.

4: The wind is cross to our course, though it blow fresh.

5: The wind is altered, and we steer N.-W.-and-by-Nore: a good course.

6: A very troublesome rolling sea: cold weather, and some rain.

7: As bad weather this day.

8: Fair weather; we mend old sails.

9: Such another day: yet no land to be seen.

(10): We discover a small ship, and bore down to her; and found her to be an English ship, and came from Marseilles, bound for London. 'Tis blustering weather. We have prayers; no sermon.

11: The same cold weather; the wind cross, and stormy.

12: We ſteer W.-N.-W. and the farther we go, the farther we are from England. At 3 we tack and ſtand E.-N.-E.

13: A cross-wind ſtill; and begins to be ſtormy, and cold.

14: Stormy weather, and rain; a ſad tempeſtuous night.

15: A dangerous leaky ſhip. And as bad, or worſe, to-day.

16: Rain, and very ſtormy; and the ſeas run very high. At 6 in the afternoon the ſtorm ſplit our foreſail all into bits, and very much rent our new mainſail. We took in that, and bent another mainſail, which was no ſooner ſpread but rent, ſo that we were forced to lie under a mizzen all that cruel night. The wind grew more ſtrong, and the ſeas more furious; and our companions we ſaw near us, but can ſee them no more. Now we ſhip ſeveral ſeas; our men are all tired with pumping and bailing. And we expect every ſea to break our ſhip in pieces.

(17): About 4 in the morning the ſeas grow far more outrageous, and break clearly over our quarter-deck; drive our hen-coops [236] overboard; and waſhed one of our ſeamen clean off the crotchet-yard.[237] A ſecond ſea came and threw down all our booms; brake both pinnace and longboat on the decks. A third came, and flung our anchor off the ſhip ſide, flung the bell out of his place, brake off the carving, and pulled two planks aſunder in the midſt of the ſhip, between decks, and juſt againſt the pump. Our forecaſtle was broke all down long before. Now the men are all diſheartened,

and all expect nothing but the loss of ship and life. Our larboard gunwale all broke up, a whole plank almost out between decks; men swimming about in the waist of the ship; and great seas often breaking over us. I never saw such a Sunday, and I hope shall never forget to give God thanks for this day's deliverance—for it was a miracle that ever we escaped. At last our Captain and the rest, consulting, made a shift to put up a small foresail, and put the ship before the wind. Many great seas break over us all this night, and we have little hopes of any safety yet.

18: As bad still, and we are glad we can put our ship before the wind to come to any port; but we strive for Lisbon in Portugal. God send us safe in any port!—for our ship is miserably shaken, and our men all tired off their legs, and much disheartened.

19: Somewhat more calm wind and seas. At 10 a-clock we discover a ship coming before the wind after us. We were all very busy on board, some repairing our boats, which were both broken upon the decks, others drying their clothes and bedding, for all things were wet; whilst of a sudden this ship was up with us, and also, as we supposed, ready to board us. We discover her to be a Turkish man-of-war: we were in a poor condition to fight, our ship being ready to sink under us, and had certainly done so in an hour's time, if she had not been pumped. We all leave our business we were about, and make ready what great guns we could in that short time, and everyone that could took up a musket. She proved an Algerine, and took us for a Portuguese: we hail her; and their

boat coming on board showed her pass. The Lieutenant that came was an English renegado, who told us they did not suspect us to be English, but that they came up so boldly intending to lay us on board to-night; but, once seeing the side of our ship, they wished themselves farther from us. They had four hundred men aboard. At sunsetting, to our great joy we see the Rock of Lisbon.

20: By 8 in the morning we come to the Rock; and at 10 we take in a pilot; at 12 we pass between St Jenning's Castle and the wooden fort (as it was formerly, but now 'tis great part of it of stone); and about 1 of the clock we come to an anchor in the river Tagus, and just over against the religious house, for we must come no farther till we have leave. Here we meet with part of the Hamburgers' fleet (for they had lost five of their company in the same storm on Saturday): the Admiral gave us fifteen guns, at several times, resolving to give us the last gun, and our Captain knowing his humour gave him thirteen.

And here we hoped to have met or heard of our companions, the *Dartmouth*, *Martin*, and another small ship that came into our company from Marseilles; but we hear nothing at all of any of them, so that we fear they are all lost.

21: A summer's day; and fit for our purpose to pull oakum and dry our sails.

22: Instead of having leave given us to mend our tottered ship, we have command brought us to be gone speedily out of their haven; which we cannot do, for all our guns and stores are carried to the

hinder-part of the ship, that, by lifting up the fore-part we might the better come at the main leak. But all in vain; there is no coming to it. At 3 a-clock word is brought that [we] shall have leave to-morrow to lay our ship aground. Now the Hamburgers hear of four of their loſt ships, which were driven to Setubal[238], and are safe; so that we are not out of hopes to hear also of our companions.

23: Fair weather also to-day; but small hopes of mending our ship.

(24): A sermon this day: "Thy kingdom come". At 7 at night came the Lieutenant of the Caſtle, and the Prattick Maſter, with a message from the Prince Regent and the Chamber to command us to be gone out of their port within twenty-four hours, or else we muſt look to be fired out, as one of our merchants was about a fortnight before.[239] And, to affright us, their Vice-Admiral of sixty odd guns comes down and anchors very near us; yet we were resolved to ſtay rather than sink in the sea.

25: Having caulked[240] and mended our ſtarboard side as well as we could, we repair the larboard side, hoping ſtill to be brought in her safe to England; but can by no means ſtop the main leak. But our carpenters nail on sheets of lead, and clapped in great pieces of timber to ſtrengthen her larboard quarter, which was much shaken. This day the pigeons I gave to Mr Berry flew away, about 4 of the clock.

26: This day we put up new shrouds and sling our yards, to prevent the worſt; resolving to answer their

Vice Admiral in the same coin, in case that he fire at us. *Latet anguis in herba.* Who knows what he may do?

27: At 6 in the afternoon our Captain salutes our English Consul (who came to us from shore) with seven guns. We have no water yet, but are promised to have liberty to fetch some, but must take it for a great favour. 'Tis bad weather all day, and a tempestuous night: 'tis well we are in port.

28: The same weather for wind and rain; and we can do nothing at all.

29: Michaelmas Day; and we remember our friends in England once more. An English ketch and a merchant called the *William* came in this morning.

30: Having leave now given us, we fetch some fresh-water; and also

Oct. (1*st*): This day, too, for all 'tis Sunday. We have prayers, but no sermon, our Captain being not well.

2: We fetch more water; and to help the ship we strike down eight more of our guns, hoping to sail now very shortly.

3: We caulk the decks.

4: Make buckets to bail withal at sea, if need be.

5–6: The same work both these days.

7: By a ship from England we hear of the safe arrival of our Admiral, Sir John Narbrough, and his fleet at Portsmouth. No news of our companions. Our English Consul supped on board us this night, and we gave him seven guns.

(8): No prayers to-day; by 12 we are under sail

once more for England: God bless the King's ships! And now we have picked up five companions, and are well off the Rock near Lisbon. Very rough weather; cloudy.

9: Cloudy, dark, and rainy weather; but we have a fair wind—that's comfort.

10: The same bad weather, and as cross a wind.

11: Fair wind and weather.

12: A fair but strong gale; and we are entering on the dangerous Bay of Biscay. *Deus fortunet progressum!*

13: The wind still favours us. At 2 a-clock we bear down to our companions, who are some leagues astern—who took our ship for an Algerine, and were sore afraid; but after were glad of our company.

14: Fair wind and weather on the Bay of Biscay, and that's good news.

(15): A fair day, and a cross-wind. I preached a sermon: the last on that text.

16: A scant wind. And this day I saw a woodcock and a wren on our ship; and yesterday many linnets, though so far at sea. Why should any man be afraid to go to sea when these birds dare cross the Bay of Biscay?

Between 12 and 1 of the clock, Summersett Evins, going up the mizzen chains to clear the pendant, fell down and was drowned.

A little after 3, all the four ships in our company give us five guns apiece, and we answer them with three apiece; and so we part; and we make what sail we can for England. *Deus nobiscum sit precor!*

17: Fair weather, and the wind so; but we feel it very cold.

18: Gallant weather, and we are in the Soundings.[241] The wine given by the noble Aleppines is divided among the seamen only. At 5 a-clock we sound, and find seventy fathoms.

19: We are very joyful to see land once more. They are the islands called Scilly,[242] and lie West of England, belonging to the French.

20: The weather is fair, but the wind is cross and cold; and we see St Michael's Mount and other parts of Cornwall.

21: Fair, but cold and hazy, that we cannot see the land. At 2 we discover the Lizard Point; but have a cross-wind.

(22): Rain and much wind, and very turbulent. No prayers to-day.

23: We have not got four leagues forward these two days.

24: We strive hard for Falmouth; but cannot get in as yet.

25: This morning by 8 of the clock we are at an anchor in Falmouth Road, under Pendennis Castle, where we must take in provision.

26: I went ashore to Falmouth; and came not away till Saturday 28th. Here we spent all my Turkish gold, viz. four good chequins.

(29): We had prayers, but no sermon. At 4 we are under sail; but not having time to get out, we drop our anchor again.

30: A fair day, but very cold.

31 : And so to-day. One Arro[w]smyth, for lying ashore without leave, was ducked at the yardarm.

Nov. 1st: This morning by 8 we are going out of the harbour, and with a fair gale. *Nobiscum Dominus !*

2 : We have had a great run since we came out. The weather is very hazy : about 12 we make land, viz. the Fairlight ;[243] and at 8 we came to an anchor in the Downs, where every ship we came by did bid us heartily welcome, supposing we had been all drowned.

3 : The wind so violent that we are forced to lower our yards and topmasts.

4 : A fair gale invites us up the river ; and this morning by 7 we are under sail, and saluted by all, as we came by them ; who, before they saw us, gave us over for lost long since. At 10 we came to an anchor in Margate Road ; weigh again at 3, and anchor at 5 in the Gore.

(5) : Here we have a sermon : *Psalm*, xci, 3.

6 : No stirring this day.

7 : To-day by 8 we sail. By 12 at anchor again at Sheerness. We salute the fort with eleven guns ; they do the same to us. Here we are soon visited by many friends, who had thought never to see any of us again.

8 : Our Captain's wife, and our Master's, and Doctor's, and Carpenter's wives came all aboard, crying for joy to see us, whom they thought lost.

9–10 : We have got a pilot aboard, and are got out about 3 ; and at 7 are run aground at Spit-end. We are soon off again, and at anchor at 12 in the upper end of the Hope, near Gravesend.

11: Under sail at 10, and at anchor at the Halfway Tree[244] at 1 a-clock.

(12): No prayers. Half our men are on shore.

13–14: We get out our guns, powder, and shot; and honeſt Mall Walker,[245] Anne, and John came to see me, and we were very merry.

15–16: We come with the tide to Deptford, and anchor close to the *Bangor*.

17: Friday, the 17th of November, we are paid off at Deptford, where we leave the rotteneſt frigate that ever came to England.[246]

And here our voyage ends.

HENRY TEONGE.

July 25th, 1678.[247]

MY SECOND VOYAGE TO SEA

MY SECOND VOYAGE TO SEA

BEGUN MARCH 31ST, 1678

HAVING (by God's blessing) finished my first voyage into the Mediterranean seas (wherein I got a good sum of moneys,[1] and spent great part of it), I resolved to make another voyage, with a full intention to keep what I could get.

My desire was to visit the Western parts (if possible I could). And finding out Captain Antony Langston,[2] who was promised a ship for Virginia,[3] with little persuasion, I engaged myself to go with him whithersoever he was commanded.

In pursuance of this promise, I stayed at London three-quarters of a year, and was every week in hopes of seeing my Captain have his commission; but, being quite tired with so long delays, I resolved to go into the country, my Captain having assured me that he would give me notice to come up so soon as he had his commission.

And, though I was glad to see my relations and old acquaintance, yet I lived very uneasy, being daily dunned by some or other, or else for fear of land pirates, which I hated worse than Turks—though I was sufficiently provided for them, if they had made any attempt.

The 18th day of March I received what I had so long expected, viz. a letter from my Captain, to come up to London, for now his commission was granted. I sent him word by the next post that I would be with him in Easter Week; and I provided accordingly.

March 31st: I resolved to go in the Warwick coach. Therefore on Easter Day (having administered the sacrament at Spernall to my parishioners), about 3 of the clock, with my wife behind me, I rode towards Warwick, desiring to be there that evening, that so I might be ready to go in the coach next morning. This night I supped at my son George his house, and had to supper a shoulder of mutton, and a most excellent pike stewed, and another fried.

April 1st: This morning I parted from my cousin George Smyth, my sons George and Henry at Leamington, having left my wife at Warwick; and in the coach-waggon[4] my son Thomas and I and two women went for London.

3: This day by 3 of the clock we came safe to the Bell in Smithfield; and, having visited my cousin Tyler's house, I went to the Temple, to my Captain, who told me that one Mr Crofts had gotten the King's warrant for his ship.

Therefore that same night I went by water to the Bishop of London[5], to Fulham,[6] where I had little encouragement.

4: This morning our noble Captain made my son Thomas[7] a waterman, and took him and myself with him to Whitehall, where (after a little stay in the Long Gallery) our Captain came to me and told me I should

kiss his Majesty's hand. He had no sooner said so but the King came out; my Captain presented me to the King, saying: "An't please your Majesty, this gentleman is an old cavalier, and my Chaplain." I kneeled down; he gave me his hand. I kissed it, and said: "Pray God bless your Majesty!" He answered: "God bless you both together!" twice; and walked along the Gallery his wonted large pace.[8] And from thence (resolving to have no denial, seeing I had, as I thought, sufficient warrant for my place), I went again to Fulham; but the Bishop was gone to London. I followed him, and watch[ed] him so narrowly that I found him going up the backstairs to the House of Lords, and (almost whether he would or not) delivered into his hand a sharp letter from my Captain. I asked him when I might wait on him again; he answered very curtly: "To-morrow; for I could not expect an answer this day, because it was the day of the Lord Pembroke's trial."[9]

From that day I pursued my reasonable request to his Lordship, following him from place to place, till 11: This morning I received my orders from him, and then, having heard something more of me, he was very kind, and told me that he was sorry that I was not dispatched sooner. And

12: This morning I went to Derby House,[10] and there I also received the King's warrant. And now being *rectus ad curiam*, and knowing that my Captain, who went on board on Saturday, April 6th, was not yet fallen down any lower than the Hope, I was busy in

looking for a convenient passage, but found none till Wednesday.

24: This morning, accompanied with some friends, to Bear Key; the hoy-man told me that he could not go till the morning.

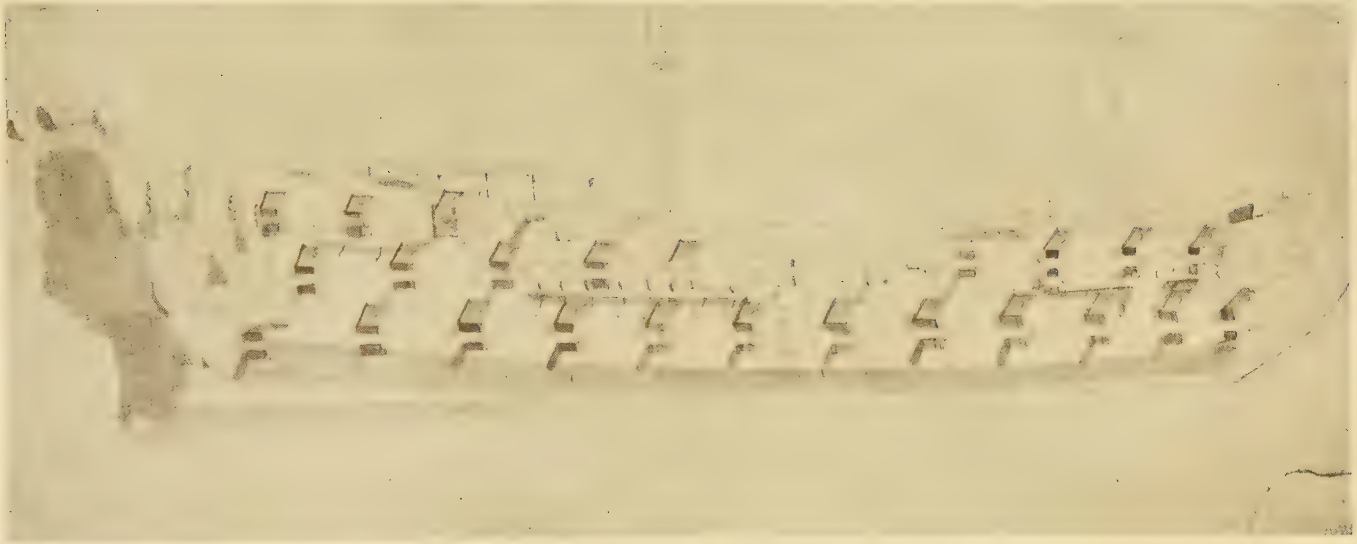
25: This morning, accompanied with the same friends as before, Mr Richard Dawes and myself went on board a Sandwich hoy,[11] where we had lousy lodgings, and as bad fare.

26: Before 6 this evening we came in to Sandwich Road, but could not get to shore because the tide would not serve; and therefore were forced to stay there all that night at little ease.

27: This morning at 10 we came in to Sandwich; whence, intending to go on foot to Deal and so on board our ship in the Downs, we were certified that our ship and some others were that very morning gone back up to the Hope. All our moneys was now spent, and how to follow our ship we knew not: and here we meet with Mr Godwin, Chaplain to the *Mary Rose*, in our condition, for she was gone back with our ship.

(28): Mr Dawes and I went in the afternoon to Deal, where we are certified that our ship is gone up to take in soldiers and to carry them to Ostend.[12] I much wondered that everything should fall out so cross, and resolved to follow the ship back.

29: This morning we take only our bedding, leave our chests in pawn, borrow some moneys of Mr Baker, our landlord, and go on board a new hoy to follow our ship, then as high as Gravesend; but we



H.M.S. BRISTOL

(From a drawing by Van de Velde in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam)

[*face p. 204*

had not sailed a mile before our vessel ran aground, and there ſtuck unmovable. Now we were worse than before. This night I did much admire that all means, though never so well intended, should prove so very cross; thence I prognoſticated a cross voyage, and, could I have got but a reasonable price for my goods, I would have returned home again.

30: But, thinking our vessel might be got off again, we ſtay here at charges till 2 of the clock for the high-water. Several means are used, but all in vain: the hoy could not be got off. We carry all our goods back to Mr Baker's, borrow some more moneys to bear our charges, and at 4 of the clock, or after, we all resolve to go on foot to Gravesend, fifty miles; and leave all our goods at Sandwich. And that night we went ten miles to Canterbury.

May 1ſt: The saddeſt way and weather that I ever went in, raining all day and a very high wind, and directly in our faces. Several old men said they never knew such a May Day; yet were we not daunted, but in spite of fate came that night to Sittingbourne[13] they called it sixteen, but we took it for twenty, miles.

2: This day about 5 a-clock, with wearied legs, we got to Gravesend, being glad to see our ships lie there at anchor. And about 7 I came on board His Majeſty's ship the *Briſtol*, where our Captain and all the gentlemen did much rejoice, in punch and brandy, at our safe arrival.

3: This day we expect soldiers on board us. In the afternoon Mr Dawes goes to London to see for some moneys to redeem our goods from Sandwich.

4: The Prick Maſter[14] comes on board, and enters me from the date of my warrant from the King.

(5): Prayers, but no sermon, our Captain dining on the shore.

6: This day's news is that we are suddenly for Virginia; and our ship is Admiral, and our Captain commands the *Mary Rose* and the *Monmouth* pendants in.

7: About 4 came one barge full of soldiers on board us, and two more after them. The Lord O'Brien[15] came with them; at whose departure our Captain gave him seven guns. Small reſt this night.

8: About 11 we weigh anchor; and for want of wind are towed about a mile, and there anchor again.

9: We lie ſtill for want of a wind. Punch and brandy since I came on board have run as freely as ditch-water.

10: This day I was invited on board the *Monmouth* by Captain Willoby,[16] Lieutenant-Colonel Solsbury,[17] and Captain Taylor[18] and Captain Talbot, where we were full merry.

11: The wind is ſtill contrary, and we are where we were. Mr Dawes, Tom, and his mother came on board us this afternoon.

(12): No prayers; for, the wind serving, at 10 we weighed anchor for Ostend; and anchor again at 4 at the Buoy in the Oaze.

13: Here we are forced to lie all day, the wind is so very high.

14: We take up one anchor, and haul short; and so lie all night.

15: At 11 we are under sail; and at anchor at 8 at night.

16: At 4 under sail again; and at anchor again at 8.

17: We came to an anchor over against Bruges;[19] and in sight of Ostend at 7 this morning; before night our soldiers were all fetched off, being nine hundred men.

18: Our barge went to Ostend this morning about business about 3 in the morning; and coming off, the wind and tide being contrary, had like to have been cast away, but was relieved by a privateer,[20] who brought both barge and men on board us, whom our Captain saluted with five guns as his thanks: he answered five.

(19): Whit Sunday. My first sermon on board the *Bristol:* the preamble to the Lord's Prayer. And we are going towards the Downs.

20: This morning about 10 we come to an anchor in the Downs. And at 12 Mr Dawes and myself and one more go to Deal; and from thence to Sandwich for our goods. There we lie all night, and are very merry.

21: And this night also.

22: Mr Dawes and I come back to Deal to look for a waggon against the morning; but return in the evening unlooked for.

23: We send all our goods to Deal, and (having left our companion, who was for London the next morning) we come back to Deal, and, not finding either our barge or longboat on shore, we were forced to lie there all night. And I had but 6d. left.

24: About 8 at night we got all our goods on board, though long first; and I played a lesson or two on my viol in the great cabin.

25: A very strong wind causeth us to lie at anchor all day.

(26): Prayers morning and evening, but no sermon, our Captain being indisposed. Rain and a strong wind all day.

27: We lie still, expecting to sail every hour. And the evening so clear, you may see the white shores of France very easily.

28: This morning, accompanied with the *Dunkirk*, *Mary Rose*, and *Antelope*, we are under sail at 11 for Harwich. And at 2 we come to an anchor off the North Foreland, and without the Northsands Head.

29: By 3 in the morning we are under sail again with a small gale; and at anchor in Harwich Road about 3 in the afternoon. But about 12 a-clock all our ships, remembering the festival day,[21] fired so many guns that they were buried in their own smoke; and at dinner we are fain to make shift with an excellent salad and eggs, a fillet of veal roasted, a grand dish of mackerel, and a large lobster—so hard is our fare at sea: and all washed down with good Margate ale, March beer, and, last of all, a good bowl of punch.

30: Early in the morning our Captain goes on shore, and back at night.

31: Boats come to bring us in provision and beer.

June 1st: At 5 a-clock Captain Naylor's[22] company comes on board us.

(2): No prayers to-day. In the afternoon half a company of soldiers come on board us.

3: And more this morning. At 3 we are under sail, and for the coasts of Scotland, viz. the *Dunkirk*, *Mary Rose*, *Antelope*, and *Bristol;* all freight with lobsters, viz. 'red-coats'. At 7 we come to an anchor over against Balsy Steeple:[23] here we have made our land-officers very merry; and

4: At 4 in the morning we are under sail with a small gale, and at 8 over against Orford Castle,[24] and the lighthouse on the Sands. At 2 there fell such a fog, we could not see one the other.

5: We are sailing now with a fair wind. At 2 a-clock, one of our lobsters standing by the hatchway gazing about him with his can in his hand, fell backwards into the hold, and being at the bottom with small hurt, he said: "God's curse light upon the house! I was never served such a trick before." And being asked how he came thither, says he: "I was walking in the streets thinking no harm, and dropped down into the cellar"; and he swore he would not go thence till he had some drink.

6: A great fog all this morning, so that we all lost one another, till, about 2 in the afternoon, the fog broke up and we came all together with rejoicing.

7: A very foggy and unwholesome weather, so that we cannot see above a ship's length; but fire muskets often, to tell where we are. At 4 the fog brake up of a sudden; and we were all not above two leagues

from shore, and easily see Newcaſtle and Tynemouth Caſtle, and all those coaſts. We lie by all night, for fear of danger, juſt againſt Cheviot Hills.[25]

8: This morning we come all to an anchor under Bamborough Caſtle and near Holy Island, whereon we landed our soldiers by our barge and longboat at several times. And from thence they went to Berwick, being diſtant eight miles.

(9): Prayers; but no sermon. Our Captain went to see the Holy Island, as the Scots call it. Of which they'll tell you that all the week 'tis encompassed with the sea, but on the Sunday you may go over as dry as on a house-floor. And this is only a Scotch trick; for the truth is, 'tis fordable; and you may ride over dry on Sundays, and so you may also any other day in the week excepting in a spring-tide.

10: We prepare to sail, but the wind favoured us not: plenty of fish.

11: The wind coming about, we are under sail by 5, and for the Downs. This afternoon we have a fair kept on the quarter-deck, of caps, neckcloths, waiſtcoats, drawers, shirts, ſtockings, shoes, etc. Moſt of the wares are sold, but not one penny paid: you could but ask for what you wanted and 'twas put into your hands—but mark the end on't.[26]

12: A cross-wind. About 5 of the clock we found two boats fishing, and bought of them ling and fresh cod of four foot in length for 6d. apiece; bret and turbot for 2d. apiece: cheap enough.

13: A very wet morning, but a fair gale, on the Dogger Bank.

14: We are with a fair gale on the Well Bank.
15: A scant wind now, and we are all busy in taking mackerel; and we end the week in drinking healths to our friends; and
(16): No prayers, for at 8 we discover a sail, and we give her chase: she proves a prize taken from the Dutch by a Dunkirker, and desires us to show how Dunkirk bore, for they had loſt themselves as well as their goods. At 3 we discover the North Foreland. At 9 we anchor in the Downs, where close by us the *Antelope* ran on board the English *Ruby*,[27] but came off with small damage.
17: A ſtrong wind.
18: The scolding woman was well washed to-day.
19: Several of the men-of-war train this day.

A SONG

To a mournful new Tune.

As like a hermit abroad I walked
In a pleasant and shady grove,
Unto myself thus methought I talked,
O what a hell 'tis to be in love!
I mused on Venus and Amaryllis,
And each bewitching face and part—
But ſtill my mind is for lovely Phyllis,
For she alone doth enjoy my heart.

Much like Amyntas abroad I wander
With my flock o'er the pleasant plains;
But then my heart like a salamander
A-burning lies with love's true pains:

A SAILOR'S SONG

My pretty lambs so much beloved
  Formerly are now forgot;
For Phyllis' sake my love's removed,
  For Phyllis' sake I know them not.

I search the country for recreation,
  Where huntings, hawkings, or shootings be;
I ring, I bowl, or what's else in fashion,
  Yet no contentment in these I see:
I ride to fairs, and to merry meetings,
  To Whitsun-ales and May-games too;
I view their paſtimes and pretty greetings,
  Yet ſtill, my Phyllis, my heart's with you.

The land disliking, the seas I crossed,
  To foreign countries I ſteer my course;
The winds are angry, the ship is tossed,
  The matter ſtill grows worse and worse:
Rain, hail, and thunder are ſtrangely mixed;
  Our ship lies tumbling upon the lee;
Our mainmaſt's loſt, and our helm unfixed;
  Yet ſtill, my Phyllis, my heart's with thee.

This ſtorm is over; a worse ensues us—
  The Turkish squadron commands our ſtay:
Our ship is hailed, the foe pursues us,
  And through them we muſt force our way.
The cannons, muskets, and peteraroes,
  Do thunder, them and us to kill;
And dead or limbless lie our heroes;
  Yet on my Phyllis my mind is ſtill.

By seas and land, too, thus have I wandered,
  Seeking some reſt to my troubled mind:
My time is spent, and my money squandered,
  Yet no contentment at all I find.

Then back to England to go my will is,
To seek out Phyllis where'er she be;
I'll live and die with my lovely Phyllis,
And she shall live and die with me.

Composed in the Downs, June 19, 1678.—H.T.

20–21: Two very hot days, and we lie still, and make merry.

22: This day I went on board the *Charles*,[28] a ship of the first rate and of great force, carrying ninety-six guns, and seven hundred and ten men. Here I was courteously entertained by the Chaplain; and (23): I preached this day: "Our Father", etc. A very fair day.

24: This day Captain Tho. Langston[29] and his Cornet came to see our Captain from Canterbury; and we were very merry. They went on shore about 7; and at their going off we gave them three cheers and seven guns.

25: A strong wind; but we are secure.

26: This day our Captain is gone to Canterbury to see his kinsman. At 8 this morning some of our simple seamen, going to haul up our longboat, by their carelessness let her go adrift, having not one oar in her; and had gone to France on a sudden had not the tide drove them accidentally upon a buoy, where they stayed till they were relieved. But a worse accident fell out: Our longboat being sent to Deal, all the men being to go out, only three were left to look to her. Of the which one John Rose, belonging to the gun-room, undressed himself to his drawers

and ſtockings, and, the boat lying close to the shore, he threw his clothes on the shore and was going out of the boat. He could swim very well; but, before he went into the water, he asked one of his companions if he could swim. He answered: "No": he replies: "Then thou art worse then a dog," and with that word jumped into the water, and inſtead of swimming he could only paddle in the water like a dog, and was immediately drowned.

27: This day he was taken up, and buried on the sands. This day we hear of sailing suddenly; but whither we know not.

28–29: Both very fair. And we hear of carrying more soldiers.

(30): No prayers. We begin to weigh anchor at 8; and by 2 we are under sail for Harwich, to take in Sir Henry Goodricke[30] his regiment for Oſtend. We have with us the *Asia*, *Antelope*, the *Drake*, and a ketch. At 4 we anchor before the North Foreland to ſtay for the *Antelope's* coming up.

July 1ſt: By 2 this morning we are under sail. At 7, at anchor off the Nazeland,[31] near Harwich. At 11, under sail again. And at 3, at anchor before Harwich.

2: A wet day; and we fetch some fresh-water from shore. At 1 John Watson, of Stroud, came to us with his ketch to carry soldiers.

3: Stormy weather, and showers often.

4: And so to-day also.

5: This morn we change our berth, and anchor nearer to Harwich.

6: A fresh gale. We end the week with health to our friends.

(7): Prayers; no sermon. I was invited to dinner on board the *Asia*, a neat ship; and kindly entertained by Captain Fortescue.[32]

8: This day I went with our Captain on shore to Pewit Island, where we took above ten dozen of young pewits.[33]

9: This morning the new ship, called the *Restoration*[34], a second rate, came from the town (having saluted the town with seven guns), and anchored between the town and Languard Fort.[35]

10: Captain Tayler and his three daughters, and Captain Craford, and Mrs Styles, dined on board us: at their going off we gave seven guns.

11: At 3 Lieutenant-Colonel Rumsey's[36] company, and

12: Captain Norton's[37] company, came on board us. At 10 we are under sail.

13: At 10 this morning we are at anchor before Ostend.

(14): Our soldiers are all gone by 10. We have no time for prayers. The *Antelope* was under sail (contrary to orders) at 3; our Captain commanded him back by a shot, but he went away, and

15: At 5 we are under sail. The wind slacking, at anchor at the North Foreland at 9 at night.

16: At anchor in the Downs.

17–18: I made my scabbard new. The same day the Lord Strangford[38] and his lady, and her sister and several others, came from Sandown Castle on board

us. At their departure we gave them three cheers and nine guns.

19–20: Very rough and wet weather.

(21): Prayers morning and evening; our Captain dined at Sandown Castle.

22: I was on board the French *Ruby*,[39] and much made of by Mr Hodgeson.

23: This day the King is expected here, but comes not. A new Master comes on board us to-day, viz. Mr Sturke.

24: Salutes this morning from all the ships to Sir John Holmes,[40] who came in last night about 9 a-clock. We are all divided into squadrons.

25: This day comes the ill tidings that our ship's voyage (which all this while was intended for Virginia) was altered, and we now are ordered to go into the Straits. We are all discontented, etc.

A SONG

The Tune—*Though the tyrant hath stolen, etc.*

Though the Fates have ordained my true love away,
And I am constrained on shipboard to stay;
Let my dearest remember how faithful I'll be,
Neither distance nor absence shall e'er alter me.

But in showers of sighs will I send to my dear,
And make my own heart correspond to my fear,
Till the soul of my love shall be pleased to see
How delightful her safest return is to me.

A FAREWELL SONG

Till then in my cabin confined I'll moan,
And there will I sigh and sing O'hone! O'hone!
No joys shall delight me by night or by day,
So long as my dearest from shipboard shall stay.

Yet my cabin I'll fancy (though a prison it be),
'Tis a thousand times better than a palace to me;
For the bedstock I'll kiss, and the pillow embrace,
For love to my dearest who lay in that place.

When the cannons are roaring and tearing like thunder,
When the ship is on fire or likely to founder,
When men that are wounded sing *Loth to Depart*,[41]
The thoughts of my dearest shall comfort mine heart.

And if the Fates, angry, thus ordered have,
That in the deep seas I must dive for a grave,
I'll woo the kind dolphins to lend me a shell,
To bring my heart safely on shore to my Nell.

But the planets at last I consulted each one,
To know how propitious they'd be to our moan;
Where I found it enrolled, the heavens are agreed
To grant both our wishes and hasten our speed.

Then, dearest, be constant and true-hearted still,
To him that is absent sore against his will;
I'll be thy Leander—be Hero to me,
And the world shall ne'er know how delightful we'll be.

Composed in the Downs, July 26, 1678.—H. T.

26: By 5 this morning we are under sail (all the men-of-war in the Downs, a brave squadron), and for Portsmouth, 'tis said. But all in our ship go with

sorrowful hearts, having loſt so brave a voyage, which we so long expected, and to be so suddenly commanded into the Straits, so unprovided of necessaries for that voyage, having not the leaſt time to take leave of our acquaintance, and also so ill manned and gunned—'tis trouble enough. But the voyage proves very short, for, the wind being againſt us, we sailed only to the South Foreland, and so came back again.

27: Such another voyage to-day: we sailed as far as Dover; the forts saluted us with twenty-one guns; our Admiral answered as many; and, the wind being cross, we anchored in the Downs at 1 a-clock.

(28): Under sail at 6, and a cross-wind, and at anchor at 12 before Sandgate Caſtle. No prayers; nothing but tacking all day.

29: Under sail at 7; at 1 at anchor under Dungeness.

30: Under sail by 8; at anchor at 2, before Fairlight,[42] catching whitings.

31: Now are we, with a small cross-gale, before the Beachy, eight bold ships: the *Charles*, French *Ruby*, *Monmouth*, *Montague*, *Dunkirk*, *Dreadnought*, *Briſtol*, *Ann & Chriſtopher*, a fire-ship. We wish in good earneſt we could meet as many more French. At 1 we anchor between the Beachy and the Seven Cliffs. And *Aug. 1ſt:* This morning at 6 under sail; at anchor at 12. We observe to go with the tide, lying ſtill when that is againſt us.

2: At 5 in the afternoon at anchor at the Spithead, where we find the *Royal Charles* and the *Royal James*, two ſtately ships, and several other frigates; where

the shores rang with salutes, one from the other, for the space of two hours.

3: The Prick Maſter came to muſter us.

(4): I preached a sermon on the word "Father". Isaac Webb ſtood tied to the geares[43] an hour, and had *speculum oris* placed in his mouth for saying to a seaman in the Captain's hearing: "Thou lieſt, like a son of a whore."

10: This day in dinner-time came a letter to assure us that we were ordered for the Straits. *Deus nobiscum!*

(11): I preached a sermon of thankfulness. Great firing of guns on shore, to welcome the Governor, Colonel Legg.[44] At night came an express relating a fight between the Prince of Orange and the French, where the English did wonders.

12: This day (having leave of our Captain) I went with Mr Peyton towards London, and were both bejaded and tired. And in that time that we were gone to London, our ship went into the dock to be cleaned; where many of our men (because we were sure to go into the Straits) ran from the ship.

Having seen several friends, and dispatched some business in London, I came back to Portsmouth with Mr Peyton;

27: And on board our ship on Tuesday, Aug. 27, where our Captain bade us welcome.

28: I went on shore to buy soap and other things for our voyage.

30: At leaſt a hundred guns fired for Sir Thomas Allin's[45] departure.

Sept. (1ſt): I preached a sermon: "I will go into thy

house." And after dinner I went with our Captain to Port Cæsar, an old ruinous place, built by Julius Cæsar,[46] and was his dwelling-house. The wall is very high, and built great part of it of flint. 'Tis four-square, and contains seven acres of ground, in one part; and near the wall ſtands an old caſtle, with dry moat about it. In the Eaſt end is a large church, but very ruinous, and great part of it uncovered.

(8): This day I preached a sermon at Cæsar's church; there being the Major of Portsmouth and several other gentlemen present. Text: *Psalm*, lxvi, 13. We dined at the inn there, and were very merry. Mr Peyton carried my token to Portsmouth this day, to send it to London; and he lay at the hulks all night.

10: This day at 11 we are under sail to get out of the harbour (for our men fall sick apace). We sail as far as the Round Tower: the wind fails; we come back to our mooring—a fine short voyage; and by the way we made a shift to dround a ballaſt boat which ran againſt us, but saved the boy that was in the boat.

13: This morning we sail out; salute the town with nine guns, who thank us with seven; and at 1 we anchor at Spithead. We take in all things fit for our voyage.

(15): I preached a sermon on the word "Our".

16: A seaman had twenty-nine lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails, and was then washed with salt water, for ſtealing our carpenter's mate's wife's ring.

17: This day [it] was two years God did miraculously save all our lives in the *Aſſiſtance*,[47] which I hope I

shall never forget to give Him thanks for. Much wind and rain.

21 : Much rain, and so violent winds these three days that we are fain[48] to lower[49] our masts and yards.

(22) : No sermon, by reason of the ship's business.

24–26 : Tempestuous weather.

A SONNET

The Tune—*No scornful lover e'er shall boast.*

When, Phyllis, first I saw your face,
I loved at liberty;
But 'ere you parted from that place,
I felt captivity.
'Twas in the twinkling of an eye
Blind Cupid played his part;
His golden arrow he let fly,
And pierc'd me to the heart.

Yet, Phyllis, I must tell you too,
You ne'er shall boast in vain,
That you have killed a lover true,
And felt yourself no pain.
To Venus I myself will go,
And woo her Diety,
To send blind Cupid with his bow
And shoot the same at thee.

Then, Phyllis, let your fancy move
In the same sphere with mine;
I'll give mine heart to thee (my love)
And thou shalt give me thine.

LORD MORDAUNT

No turtle doves were e'er so true,
  Or half so constant be:
My Phyllis, I'll love none but you,
  And you'll love none but me.

Though, Phyllis, you have charms in store
  To conquer whom you please,
Our voyage yields fair ladies more,
  Which may be won with ease:
But since I find your heart abides
  Wholly resigned to me,
Neglecting all the world besides,
  I'll fancy none but thee.

Composed at the Spit-Head, Sept. 26, 1678.—H. T.

27: This day we have beer brought on board, and other things.

28: The merchants that lay in the Downs all this while for a wind, and bound for the Straits with us, are come into this Road this morning. The Lord Mordaunt is come to Portsmouth.

(29): A blustering rainy day: at 7 at night the Lord Mordaunt and four servants came on board to go the voyage with us. No prayers, by reason of the ship's business.

30: A dull, dark day. We expect orders to sail every hour.

Oct. 1*st*: A very fair day; but the wind still foul.

2: This morning died Captain Pollea,[50] Captain of the *Ann & Christopher*, a fire-ship, and bound with us

into the Straits. He was buried at Portsmouth in the afternoon, and several peals of cannon rang him to the shore.

5: High winds and rain these three days. And this day came in a French vessel which had loſt her main-maſt and mizzen.

(6): Prayers; no sermon, our Captain being on shore. Much wind; and the moſt tempeſtuous night for rain, thunder, lightning and wind as ever I saw to my beſt remembrance.

10: Violent winds and rain till this day. Now we hope all the foul weather is blown over. Fair weather, but a foul wind, all these three ensuing days.

(13): This day is so fair that I preached a sermon on our quarter-deck. We have ſtill ill-luck: I am afraid of an unfortunate voyage; for this day our Purser, Mr Gelly, is dead at Portsmouth, and our Lieutenant is very near it. And the wind is as cross as it hath been all this while.

14: The wind fair this morning, but soon turned. But the weather very fair for three days.

17: The wind is now fair. We weigh anchor; are under sail by 4; and salute the Admiral with seven guns. Adieu to Portsmouth; and before 7 we are at anchor at St Helen's Point.

18: Bluſtering weather ſtill, but dry, and very cold. At half an hour after 11 we are under sail again, with eighteen merchants, two fire-ships, and two frigates, beside our own. We Admiral.

19: A fair wind and weather, and we sail merrily

for Plymouth; and are this morning over against Dartmouth; and now I can count at least thirty in our convoy.

(20): We are calmed at the Rame Head: at 3 came a small breeze, and we anchored in the Road, or rather in Plymouth Soundings, at 6. Saluted the citadel with seven guns: they gave as many; we return three. No time for prayers to-day.

21: I went on shore to see the citadel, which is a place of much strength, and 'tis pity it is not finished. I lay all night on shore; and

22: Came back this night with the Captain.

24: This day at 2 we are under sail, and stand off only to draw forth our fleet, which 'tis said will consist of one hundred ships. In the evening we put to sea: so that I may count this day to be the beginning of our voyage. God send it a prosperous one!—but I much fear it, all things hitherto having been so cross.

25: At 10 we are, with as fair a gale as can be desired, past the Lizard Point; and both our Master and myself counted one hundred and five ships in sight. A brave fleet! At 11 a small vessel, homeward bound, fell in amongst us; and ran on board the *Ann & Christopher*, our fire-ship, and broke her own bowsprit and tore her own foretop sail. At 2 I went on the poop, where I could scarce see the English coast, and sighing, bade adieu to England and to all my friends there; yet hoping to see them again about a twelve months hence.

A SONG

Amyntas, forced to sea, complains for his absent Chloris.

The Tune *Fame of thy Beauty and thy, etc.*

England, adieu! I now no more
Can view thy borders from the main;
But gazing back towards thy shore,
Do sighing wish me there again.

Since Cupid with his golden dart
Hath wrought in us this sympathy,
And joined us both in one true heart,
Why should we now divorced be?

Which of the Gods did he displease?
Or who would think them so unkind,
To send Amyntas cross the seas,
And Chloris force to stay behind?

Or what malignant planets reigned,
Thus to torment a shepherdess;
And my poor Chloris hath constrained
At once to part from all her bliss?

Would Jove permit, and Neptune please
With Æol's aid her course to steer,
That she might safely cross the seas,
Then I could wish my Chloris here.

But since our wishes are in vain,
O Gods, that we may you adore,
Bring me but safely back again
To Chloris, and I'll ask no more.

Composed at Sea, October 25, 1678.—H. T.

26: Gallant, fair weather, and we are now almoſt entering on the Bay of Biscay. God send us well over it! We end the week merrily in drinking our friends' healths in a bowl of punch.

(27): A very fair day: we have prayers, but no sermon, this day.

28: Now I begin to make cartridges for the Captain's guns.

29: This day we begin to baracado[51] our quarter-deck with an old cable, to keep off small shot: and a good shift, too.

30: A summer's day. Now I make cartridges for my own ſtaff gun, and some for muskets also.

31: A ſtrong gale to-day. A small pink[52] ran on board the *Caſtle* fire-ship, and broke off her own fore-topmaſt, and did some prejudice to her own bowsprit also.[53] The weakeſt goes always to the wall. Much rain this evening, and very tempeſtuous. We had not such a tumbling time since we came to sea.

Nov. 1ſt: More mild. At 12 the morning fog broke up. At night we begin Chriſtmas, drinking health to our friends in a bowl of punch.

2: This evening I began to be very feverish, and took a sweat.

(3): The Lord Mordaunt,[54] taking occasion by my not being very well, would have preached, and asked the Captain's leave laſt night, and to that intent sat up till 4 in the morning to compose his speech, and intended to have Mr Norwood to sing the Psalm. All this I myself heard in agitation; and, resolving to

prevent him, I got up in the morning before I should have done had I had respect to my own health, and came into the great cabin, where I found the zealous Lord with our Captain, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse that he went out of the cabin in great wrath. In the afternoon he set one of the carpenter's crew to work about his cabin; and I, being acquainted with it, did by my Captain's order discharge the workman, and he left working; at which the Reverend Lord was so vexed that he borrowed a hammer, and busied himself all that day in nailing up his hangings;[55] but, being done on the Sabbath-day, and also when there was no necessity, I hope the work will not be long-lived. From that day he loved neither me nor the Captain. No prayers, for discontent.

4: Much rain, and a very tempestuous night, and a foul wind; so that we are likely to have a long passage to Cadiz.

5: The same bad wind and weather. At 10 I buried in the sea Will. Potten, one of the carpenter's crew, who sickened at Portsmouth.

8: Tempestuous weather, and the wind cross. About 2 this morning a sea struck our ship on the starboard quarter, as if it would have broke the ship; came quite over all, and pickled the men.

9: This day we met with a small vessel adrift. She was a Portuguese, and laden with corn, but not anyone in her. The merchants that came first to her took her sails and yards and what else they pleased, and let her go again.

(10): I preached a sermon on the quarter-deck, of Faith, Hope, and Charity, from these words: "Our Father, which art in Heaven".

12: Another fair is kept on the quarter-deck for our seamen.[56]

13: Fair weather, but a cross-wind. This day dined with us the two fire-ships' Captains, and Captain Petts of the Store-ship. We had an aitchbone of good beef and cabbage; a hinder-quarter of mutton and turnips; a hog's head and haslett[57] roasted; three tarts, three plates of apples, two sorts of excellent cheese: this is our short-commons at sea. But we had like to have had a bad supper; for a little before 7 the Master left his candle burning in his cabin, which fired a bunch of rosemary, and had like to have fired the ship: and this also I take to be an ill-omen of a bad, troublesome voyage.

14: We discover a fleet of at least forty sail standing as we do, but know not yet what they are.

15: The fleet proves to be our Newfoundland fleet: the *Woolwich* their convoy; who gave us three cheers and five guns. We give the same; and Captain Dickenson[58] came on board us to see our Captain.

16: A warm day, but still a cross-wind.

(17): I preached a sermon on the first petition: "Hallowed be thy name".

18: At 10 this morning we see land, viz. Mount Chega, near St Mary's Port. 'Tis a long passage

19: To Cadiz. A bad wind still.

20: This morning we met nine Hollanders. Their

Admiral saluted us with nine guns; the Vice with seven, the Rear with five. We answered so.

21: This day I buried in the sea Henry Spencer of Lancashire, who gives all his pay, and what else he had, to his landlady at Portsmouth.

22: Never long that comes at last: we came to an anchor in Cadiz Road at 8, where we find the *Pearl*, and the *Ruby*, English frigates. Several salutes pass; and

23: I was kindly entertained on shore at Sir James Cuningham's [59] house, an English gentleman.

(24): No sermon to-day; our Captain dined on shore. The *Rupert*, the Vice-Admiral to our fleet in the Straits, came in hither this afternoon: we gave her nine guns; she returned seven. And

26: The *Woolwich* came in to-day, who had lost three of her convoy to the Algerines since we left her and her fleet.

At 4 we are under sail, and no sooner are we so but we ran on board of [a] ship that lay by us, and broke off her bowsprit-yard, and our topyard; and we came to an anchor again on the outside of all the ships. The Captain, disliking some passages, had confined our Master to his cabin as soon as we came to Cadiz. The Lord Mordaunt was instrumental, and he hath left us, and is gone into the *Rupert;* and his Sunday's work is come to nothing.

27: By 11 we are under sail for Tangier; we have with us the *Ann & Christopher* fire-ship, the store-ship, and twelve merchants.

28: By 6 we come to an anchor in Tangier Road.

We find the *Charles* galley, who had lately fought with the Algerines, and made an honourable retreat, or else she had been taken.

29: Mr Peyton and I went ashore, and were well wetted; the weather was so bad that we could not get on board again. Here we saw five Algerines go by us into the Straits mouth; and we expect to fight them every hour.

30: A little French vessel was overset in the harbour; and a boat and five men driven on the shore to the Moors. All bad fortune still.

Dec. (1*st*): This night we got on board again, but soundly wetted.

3: By 8 we are under sail. God send us good luck! —but by all that hath happened as yet I fear a troublesome voyage. At 10 we salute the town with nine guns; they give us eleven, which makes us wonder; we give five; they as many; and we give five more. We are twelve in all, have a fair gale, and are at Gibraltar by 3.

4: The wind holds fair, and by break of day against Malaga, and calmed all the day after. Here we see the Granada mountains, whose tops (with age or snow) are as white as milk.

5: About 2 of the clock we discover two sails stand towards the shore to cross us. We make all things ready to fight. They put abroad the English colours, but we knew them to be Algerines. After they had viewed us awhile, they stood off to sea. We, supposing they might fall upon us in the night, caused our storeship to carry the light and all the merchants to follow

her close, and our ship and the fire-ship followed a good distance astern, supposing that they would have fallen furiously either on us or the fire-ship; which if they had done, they might (like the Scotchman) have taken a tartar: but they would not be so trepanned,[60] but left us.

6: The wind is clear against us, and we strive in vain. At last we are forced to come to an anchor in Almeria Bay, just before the town.

7: The Spaniards will not suffer us to come on shore, but they let us fetch water, and will sell us what conveniencies we want.

(8): Prayers; no sermon, our Captain not being on board. After dinner I went with our Captain to the town-side, but they would not give us leave to come ashore. But they brought to us good wine, lemons, oranges, pome-citrons, sheep, hens, eggs, coleworts etc., and sold them cheap enough.

'Tis a small town, compassed with a pitiful wall, which runs up to a castle that stands on the side of the hill, [an] old Maurisco building, and seems very strong by its situation. I saw no guns; but the report was there were four. The bay is very large and also deep, full of fish and fowl, and very commodious for anchorage. Here we had also excellent oil and salads.

9: Under sail by 7, and by 11 we pass by Cape de Gat, with a fair gale.

10: In the afternoon we pass by Cartagena and Cape St Paul.

11: And by 1 a-clock at anchor in Alicante Road,

where we find several merchants, who salute us, but not one man-of-war.

12: I went on shore to see the place, and went almoſt up to the caſtle; but the ſteepness of the hill forced us to retreat.

14: At 10 we are under sail; only we lie by till our Captain came. This day we begin to have to our second course at dinner, raisins, figs, almonds, etc.

(15): No prayers to-day, for sailing. By 10 we come close to the Island called Formentera, and in the afternoon by Iviza.[61]

16: We sail by the Capareroes[62] and Majorca, and are chased by two Algerines; but they soon left us and ſtood to sea.

17: At 1 this morning rose a fret of wind, which, in despite of all means that we could use, drowned our longboat, which was at the ſtern of our ship; and, whilſt we were busy in thinking to save the boat, we loſt sight of the four ships that were our companions; but at night we came together again with joy.

21: Lamentable cold weather; and a cross-wind hath, these four days, driven us we can scarce tell whither. But this morning we can discover Minorca, or Minyorke: the wind scants again. We keep St Thomas's fair again, for clothes for the seamen. At 8 we come to an anchor in Port Mahon[63] Road.

(22): All our fleet are in this harbour; and are joyful at our arrival, for they much wanted the ship of ſtores. And so much company came on board us that we could not possibly have prayers.

23: A rainy day, and very cold; and we not yet admitted to come in.

24: A fair Christmas Eve. The Prick Master came on board to muster us.

25: Good Christmas Day. We go to prayers at 10; and the wind rose of such a sudden that I was forced (by the Captain's command) to conclude abruptly at the end of the Litany; and we had no sermon. And soon after, by the carelessness of some, our barge at stern was almost sunk, but recovered. We had not so great a dinner as was intended, for, the whole fleet being in this harbour, beef could not be got. Yet we had to dinner an excellent rice pudding in a great charger, a special piece of Martinmas English beef, and a neat's tongue, and good cabbage, a charger full of excellent fresh fish fried, a dozen of woodcocks in a pie, which cost 15d., a couple of good hens roasted, three sorts of cheese, and, last of all, a great charger full of blue figs, almonds, and raisins; wine and punch galore, and a dozen of English pippins.

The wind was so high all this night that we ever expected when it would have broke our cable or anchor. But the greatest loss we yet sustained was this: about 11 or 12 a-clock our honest Lieutenant, Mr Will. New,[64] died, and left a mournful ship's-company behind him. Yesterday our Captain bought three Spanish hogs: the roughness of the weather made them so sea-sick that no man could forbear laughing to see them go reeling and spewing about the decks.

26: The weather is very rough and cold, and the wind

contrary, so that we cannot get into the harbour. This afternoon we put our Lieutenant into a coffin, but know not when we shall bury him.

27: We send to-day to have leave to bury him on the shore.

28: This day we carry his corpse in the barge to a small island lying in the harbour, which is given to the English to bury their dead upon; and there we bury him. Several peals of great guns rang his funeral-knell. After the solemnity I went on board our old ship the *Assistance*, which lay close by the island; and was courteously entertained by my old acquaintance Mr Berry, the purser there.

(29): I preached a funeral sermon for our Lieutenant, whom we buried yesterday: text, *Gen.*, xlvii, 9. After dinner our Captain took me on shore with him to the village under the castle (for we ventured hard to bring our ship so far in, and had almost ran her ashore), and were both nobly entertained by Captain Don Phillippo, captain to the castle.

30: And this morning we warp in to the fleet;

31: Where we end the old year merrily in wine, punch, and brandy.

1679.

Jan. 1st: I was invited on board the *Royal Oak* by Mr Ellis, the Chaplain.

2: A fair day, but very cold. I buried on the island William Biggs.

3: I was invited on board the *Assistance*, to sup, by Mr Mosse, Chaplain.

(5): Prayers; no sermon: our Captain indisposed.

Sir Roger Strickland dined on board us. The *Portland* went hence for Leghorn. Cold weather.

7: This day kept on shore the festival of St Antonio. A high day. The *Assistance* barge out-rowed the *Royal Oak* barge this day.

8: I went with our Captain a-walking beyond Port Mahon, to a place full of gardens; and returning we found a Spaniard hooking up oysters, and bought some of him. Very cold weather.

9: The Spanish galloons for their uncivility are commanded hence.

10: Our new Lieutenant, Mr George Montague,[65] son to the Lord Montague, came on board us this day.

(12): Rainy and very cold weather. Prayers; no sermon, for cold.

13: A council of war was held on board the *Plymmouth*, our Admiral, concerning some misdemeanours in our Master, Mr Henry Sturke, who was confined to his cabin ever since we came from Cadiz, and was this day suspended from his place: and the next business was concerning Sir Roger Strickland's removal into our ship, the *Bristol*, in regard his own ship, the *Mary*, is disabled to endure the sea. And he, being the Rear-Admiral, may make choice of what ship he likes best. And into what ship our Captain is to go is not yet concluded.

14: 'Tis resolved that our Captain removes into the *Royal Oak*, a stately ship, and of great force. Rainy and very cold weather.

16: This morning the three Captains exchange ships:

Captain Killigrew[66] out of the *Royal Oak* into the *Mary*, to go home; Sir Roger Strickland into the *Bristol;* and our Captain Langston into the *Royal Oak* a ship like himself. Now the flag at the mizzen-top is hoisted on the *Bristol*, at which time the *Mary*, *Royal Oak*, and *Bristol* fire twenty-one guns apiece; and every Captain departed from his old ship, and was also received into his new ship, with three cheers, and drums beating, and trumpets sounding. God send us all good luck!—but still it puts us all to much trouble.

17: The *Assistance* is gone to convoy merchants to Scanderoon. Cold. And this day my orders for the *Royal Oak* were signed.

19: Prayers; no sermon. This being the first Sunday that our Captain was on board the *Royal Oak*, our boatswain made the ship wondrous fine, with a pendant at every yardarm, in all twenty-five pendants. Many Spaniards came on board to see our ship. I was their usher, and had many thanks.

20: About 5 I was invited, with the rest of the Chaplains, to the funeral of Mr Toogood, our victualler, who died at Mahon. We went all to the house where he died, and brought out the corpse in a coffin, and thus were placed (the whole town gazing at our formality): Eight trumpets went first; the Chaplains went next by two and two; next the corpse borne by six seamen, the pall being borne up by ten Pursers; then the Captains; next the Lieutenants and Chirurgeons, two and two. Thus we carried him through the town, and down to the water, where we

H.M.S. ROYAL OAK

(From a drawing by Van de Velde in the possession of Mr. R. C. Anderson)

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were met by our Admiral, Sir John Narbrough, and our Rear-Admiral, Sir Roger Strickland, and all the rest of the Commanders in the fleet; and thence we carried him in a barge (all the other barges following) to the little island, our burying-place, the guns from all the ships firing till we came thither; and, having finished the ceremony, the trumpets sounded three levets at the grave, and everyone returned to his own ship soundly wet and cold.

23: These three days we are fitting out our ship, and breaming[67] her; with which Mr Peyton was frighted out of his cabin. This night our Lieutenant Montague made *grande festo* for all the Lieutenants in our state-room, where our Captain and two more Captains were Lieutenants for that night.

24: This afternoon came in the *HappyR eturn* from England, Sir William Poole[68] Commander, and with him the noble Duke of Grafton, one of the King's natural sons by the Countess of Castlemaine—a brisk young man, who comes to see fashions.[69] Nothing but cold rain and sharp winds.

(26): Prayers; no sermon. Thanks to God that we are in a good harbour! The Spaniards say they never had such a winter.

27: This day an Irishman (who had been master of a ship of thirty ton, and was taken by the Algerines) made his escape from Algiers, and came to sea himself in a small boat, with a little rusk and water; and in ten days' time arrived here so weak that he could not stand at the first coming. 'Twas a strange Providence.

28: There came and dined on board us sixteen Spanish women, with their husbands and children. They took our ship sure for Noah's Ark, for the unclean beasts came in by pairs. After dinner they all danced after their strange fashion, viz. two and two together, only at one time. 'Twas a very jovial day, and the Duke himself came to see their dancing: our Captain was a great favourite to the Spaniards, and so had that great favour of the women's company, for they went to no ship but ours.

30: A solemn day,[70] and we keep it accordingly with jacks and pendants lowered half-way, and prayers; and firing of guns at night.

31: I went on shore to Mahon, and was courteously entertained by the Franciscans, at their convent; and this day our Lieutenant's tomb is finished; and on the headstone, very handsomely, this epitaph was engraved:

Fortis in hoc tumulo Gulielmus New jacet, Anglus,
Hectoriasque manus, corque leonis habens.
Nobilis hic natu; fortunâ splendidus; ultro
Dispergens libere; cuique benignus erat:
Divinare licet nunc hujus Religionem;
Proh dolor! huic puppis vix habet ulla parem.

Henricus Teonge.

Antonius Langston mœstissimus hoc posuit;
December 28, 1678.

Feb. (*2nd*): Good Candlemas Day. Very cold. We are commanded to fetch water all day, and have not time for prayers.

4: Very cold weather. This is one of the most jovial days in the year, on the shore. All people are either in the open streets or at their doors. The men fling oranges at the women, and they fling oranges or water at the men; and 'tis a great favour if you are hit with any of them: this they do all the day long, and no exception is to be taken at any thing; and they are most esteemed that make the most mirth. At night they sing, and dance, and banquet, till 12 a-clock; and then they begin their Lent. This is Shrove Tuesday with them; and after this day they use no manner of merriment.

7: Rain and snow; very cold these days. This day I buried two out of our ship, John Parr and John Woolger. I think they were little better than starved to death with cold weather.

8: Collyer and Coolin went to fight, but were loth to hurt one the other, and so came back, like two fools, well drunken.

(9): Prayers; no sermon. I buried our Captain's cabin-boy, Imanuell Dearam. The [Captain] came on the island at the same instant.

10: Our Admiral came from the town, and anchored without Bloody Island, for his better conveniency of sailing out.

11: I buried Samuel Ward, who had lain sick a long time.

12: Four of our ships are gone to-day to cruise before Algiers, viz. the *Nonsuch*, *Phœnix*, *Sapphire*, and *Orange Tree*, an Algerine prize.

13: A consultation about going to Algiers.

14: Provisions are brought on board our ship all this day; and our noble Duke of Grafton (intending as is supposed for the sea) begins his warlike exploits; who, with his own pinnace and one more, is to fight Sir John Ernle's[71] barge and longboat and our barge, in the nature of Algerines. They turn for the advantage of the wind, at leaſt an hour: at laſt the fight began very furiously; several broadsides passed, with muskets, blunderbusses, and peteraroes, and squibs and crackers, like hand-grenades: this continues at leaſt an hour. Then at laſt (as it was ordered before) Sir John Ernle's squadron is worſted; his longboat driven on shore, where they forsake their vessels, but maintain them a good while by their small-shot from behind the rocks. At laſt the Duke takes the boats with his artillery and fire-balls, and so the fight ends (very pleasant to behold). And they all go on board Sir Roger Strickland to dinner in the *Briſtol*, who, to entertain the Duke, caused his ship to be adorned with new waiſt-cloths, and a pendant at every yardarm, which, as soon as the Duke came on board, were all let fly at once; and fired thirteen guns of the lower tier. There they make merry; but, though the fight was only in jeſt, yet many of them were hurt by accidents, and burnt with fire-balls.

(16): Prayers to-day; no sermon. At 8 this morning departed Sir John Narbrough[72] in the *Plymouth*, Sir John Ernle in the *Defiance*, Sir William Poole in the *Happy Return*, the *Ann & Chriſtopher* fire-ship, and a sloop; all for Algiers. Here are left,

for to get in provision, the *Royal Oak*, the *Mary*, *Bristol*, *Homer*, the store-ship, the small Algerine, and the *Fanfan*.

17–20: Good weather these days. The *Kingfisher* and *James* galley came in to-day from Leghorn, with several merchants.

21: They all go away betimes this morning, to carry an express that came out of England to Leghorn in sixteen days' time, and is to be delivered to Sir John Narbrough's own hands.

22: 'Tis a very high wind, and cold. About 8 in the morn fifteen barrels of powder blew up, and other ingredients for fire-works, that belonged to the little Algerine fire-ship. They were in a cave, close by the *Mary:* the force of it did much shake the *Mary* and all the ships that were anything near.

(23): Prayers; no sermon. This morning departed hence Sir Roger Strickland, in the *Bristol*. Our ship saluted him with eleven guns; he answered nine: we gave five more; he the like: we gave him three; he one. He took with him the *Homer* fire-ship: both for Algiers.

26: The two last days we got some bread and pork. This day I buried John Wilkinson, the carpenter's mate.

28: This afternoon our Captain, Lieutenant Monck[73] and myself go into Should-water Bay, where we get rosemary, whetstones, and red shells called starkasarks; and so come on board again.

March 1st: St Taffy's Day, and many in our ship do wear leeks.

(2): St Chad's Day. We had prayers; no sermon. I went to see the English Cove.

3: We make all things ready now to sail: want only provision.

5: Very cold days. I buried Izaak Maule, a Swede.

6: And this day I buried Samuel Massy.

7: Several Spaniards come on board, to bid us adieu (as they call it); and last night some passengers came to go with us.

8: By 8 this morning we are under sail. *Deus nobiscum!* A Spaniard coming on board to sell milk (not minding to go off in the boat when he might have gone), was forced to go along with us; whom we sent back from Formentera.[74] The *Date Tree* went with us, who lost her main topmast as soon as she was out of the mouth of the harbour; which in the fall broke also her mizzen topmast. At 5 we see Majorca, and are not out of the sight of our beloved Minorca.

(9): Instead of prayers this morning (being close under Majorca), we are quartering our men in their several stations, in case we should meet with an enemy. This day I buried in the sea William Watson, belonging to the carpenter's crew.

After 9 at night, a lusty ship coming up with us gave us a sudden alarm; everyone that could snatched up a musket. I went up on the top of the poop with my staff-gun, and stood by our Lieutenant Monck, who hailed the ship and commanded them to come on board us. They refusing, as we thought, he bade me fire at them, which I did: then they immediately lowered their top-sail; but they making no haste to

come on board us, our Captain commanded to fire a gun from our quarter-deck thwart their hawse. Then the Master came on board. She was a French vessel, and brought us the good news how that the *Sapphire* had forced Treguee, the Dey's son of Algiers to run on shore, and had burnt his ship: it was done about Oran, and on Tuesday last, March 4th. This was welcome news.

The best passage was that we had a friar with us, who, having been drinking wine, was grown a little valiant, and he had got a musket in his hand, a collar of bandoleers[75] about him; and to see him stand in his white coat, bald pate, his musket in his hand, and the Twelve Apostles rattling about him, was a sight which caused much laughter.

10: The wind so cross that we are but five leagues more than we were the last night.

11: A fresh gale brings us to the sight of Formentera, where we intend to cut wood.

12: At 2 this morning we discover three or four ships in the Bay: they had also discovered us, and sent in one ship to anchor, as a decoy[76] to draw us in, thinking to embay us, and catch us. About 5 this morning we (not fearing as many more ships) made directly into the Bay to that ship. Coming near her, she put abroad the English colours: we then did the same. The three other ships also that thought to take us in that pinfold came also into the Bay. It proved to be Sir Roger Strickland in the *Bristol*, the *Centurion*, the *Hampshire*, and Captain Carter[77] in the [*Defiance*]. They all leave us that day, and were bound for Port

Mahon; by whom we sent back the Spaniard that sold milk; they took the fire-ship with them.

This morning about 9 I went with the rest a-wooding upon this island of Formentera. 'Tis, as 'tis said, eighteen long miles and six in breadth; and 'tis said no inhabitants live there but Bandectoes,[78] viz. such as are banished their native countries for some misdemeanours. But another gentleman and myself, only with our guns in our hands, went not so little as six miles on the island to and fro, and not any mankind. We found places where fires had been made, and where people had made little huts under trees to lie in; we found places where conies had scrat,[79] and asses' or mules' muck, and much rooting and muck of hogs and *capereroes*.[80] But we saw not one living creature of any of these; till at the last I saw a *caparetto*[80] through the bushes, and was levelling my gun at her—at the same time the gentleman with me, looking earnestly that way that I was pointing my gun, saw a kid. Both shot together; I killed the dam, and he the kid; and with much ado we carried them to our boat, but were very much tired, for it was at least two miles off. I gathered also at least a pound of resin from one bough. Here is excellent good ground: rosemary in abundance, fir-trees, pine, juniper, and 'tis said some cedar-trees.

We came not to an anchor, but sailed to and fro in the Bay all the day. At night having got our wood on board, we put to sea. Here was buried William Foster, of the carpenter's crew.

13: According to our orders yesterday, we sail back towards Majorca; and we have so fair a gale that we

are at anchor in the Road of Majorca at 5 in the afternoon, and salute the town with seven guns. They answered not at all—at which our Captain was very angry.

14: At 8 this morning, the Viceroy (hearing how ill it was taken that they did not answer the King of England's man-of-war) commanded four guns to be fired: four farts had pleased us as well.

15: A fair day, but our Captain, having taken cold at Formentera, was bad last night, and continues worse to-day.

(16): The wind favouring, we are under sail by 8, and for Alicante;[81] but our Captain is worse [than] he was. Yet we had divine service; and the friar I spake of before sat by me all the while very devoutly.

17: 'Twas a very tempestuous night, and a hard gale. We discover a fleet of ships: they proved to be Hollanders, fifteen sail, and bound for Alicante. At 12 we are over against Orlandoes Gap. Our Captain continues very ill; and I begin to fear his death. And this night I sat up by his bedside all night. Many times he would talk very lightsome, and presently again he would talk light-headed.

18: By 4 this morning we come to anchor in Alicante Road, where we find Dutch, French, Spaniards, but not one English ship.

19: Our Captain is now past all hopes of recovery. This is the 7th, and he'll not (we fear) see another. The wind is cross, else we had sailed this day.

Brave Captain Antony Langston died a very little after 10 a-clock this night. I stood by his bedside

when he breathed his last. I went immediately to my cabin, and wrote this distich, and presented it to Mr Cullen, there present, and the chiefest of the English merchants at Alicante:

ANTONIUS LANGSTON Generosus (proh dolor!) ille
Quem nemo potuit vincere, morte jacet.
Obiit 10mo 9no die Martij, paulo post 10^am horam vesp'tinam
A.D. 1678.

20: About sunsetting we went out about two leagues to sea, carrying our Captain in our barge, and there put him overboard, for we have no burying-place on shore. We were accompanied with eight more boats, and all the commanders of the Hollanders and English in the Road, and all the English merchants in Alicante. At our going off our ship fired forty guns; the Hollanders at least a hundred. The solemnity being over, all the company came back to our ship, where we had an excellent collation and plenty of wine. After all this, I presented the chief of them with a copy of these verses.

And thus far, you cannot but say, we have had a voyage of trouble. I pray to God that the worst of it is past now!

EPITAPH

ANTONIUS LANGSTON Generosus (proh dolor!) ille
Quem nemo potuit vincere, morte jacet.
Obiit decimo nono die Martii, paulo post decimam horam vesp'tinam. An: D'm° 1678-9.

A CAPTAIN'S EPITAPH

In Obitum ejus Carmen Funebre

Non tibi luce quies, nec erat tibi tempore noctis;
Dura fuit pariter nox, et amara dies.
Lux tibi Christus adest (peccati nocte relictâ),
Nec dolor ullus erit, sed sine fine quies.
Pro terris cœlum; post luctus gaudia nactus:
Ossa tegit fluctus; spiritus astra petit.
Vita beata satis, dum vix'ti vivere Christo;
Sed summo melior vivere vita Deo.
Cur tristes decorent lacrymæ tua funera? Dormis
In Domino, dum te litua clara vocet.
Dulce jugum Domini est patienter ferre; tulisti,
Euge, ferox cessat pugna; corona manet.

ENGLISHED:

Sharp was the day, and bitter was the night,
And both were tedious, 'cause thy pains were strong;
Now Christ is come, and brings to thee his light,
Dispelling sins' dark night, though that were long:
Now neither grief torments, nor pains offend;
Now rest is come; such rest as hath no end.

Now hast thou heaven for earth: O happy change!
For grief thou now aye-lasting joys hast got,
Thy soul amidst the blessed troops doth range,
Although thy bones in boisterous billows rot.
Happy thy life, who living livd'st to Christ;
Happier thy death, who dead, liv'st with the High'st!

Then why should mournful tears bedew thy tomb?
Full sweetly now thou sleepest in the Lord,
Until shrill-sounding-trump at day of Doom
Do raise all flesh according to His word:
Sweet 'tis to bear God's yoke, though 't be some pains:
Thou did'st; the fight is past, the crown remains.

HENRICUS TEONGE, Mœstissimus.

21: This morning (according to my promise last night) I went ashore and was very courteously entertained by Mr Cullen; and

22: By 9 we are under sail, and for England, God willing. God send us well thither, for now our mirth is past the best!

I buried Francis Forrest, as 'tis said eaten to death with lice. As we went out of this Road, the *Woolwich* came in with ten merchants, of which five came from them and sailed with us.

(23): So great a fog that we are fain to ring our bells, beat drums, and fire muskets often, to keep us from falling foul one upon another. We had prayers; after which I buried Joseph Pearson. About 3 the *Woolwich* and her five merchants come and join with us; so that now we do not fear all the picaroons in Turca.[82] She came to our stern, and we saluted her with seven guns and three cheers—she did the same; we gave her three more—she did the same; we thanked them with one more—she did so too; and so we sail together. *Deus nobiscum sit, precor!* At 6 a thick fog, and we all lay by; and

24: About 1 a-clock this morning we make sail again. At 11 we are with a small gale over against Cape St Paul. At 2 fell a great fog again, and much hindered us. At 6 we come before Cartagena, and a merchant that lay there came out to us, and made our number twenty.

25: Our Lady's Day; and we begin the year with prayers. A very foul wind all these days.

28: Our two Lieutenants and other officers take a

note of all Captain Langston's things, and lock them all up.

(30): No prayers, the weather was so very bad; and we are fain to dine, not at a table but lying upon the deck. And we have not yet passed Cartagena.

31: By 12 to-day we are past Table Round. At 2 there came in to us the *Phœnix* and the *Sapphire*, she having a Turk's ancient under the English, which she took from the vessel which she lately forced on shore and burnt. And this night these two ships left us again. They brought us the ill news of the Moors taking two forts at Tangier, and carried away the heads of [the] men they killed there.

April 1st: Very fair weather. And we are past Cape de Gat, and got into Almeria Bay, but not likely to get out this night. Here we met a rich English fleet, of above twenty sail; some for Zante, some for Smyrna, some for Scanderoon. Several salutes pass on both sides. At 5, the wind being cross, all our fleet come to an anchor in Almeria Bay, and just before a pitiful castle, called Rocketta, not worth the name of a castle.

4: By 6 we are all under sail, but the wind soon slacked, and we all came back again, but came not to an anchor.

5: This morn we are all benighted in a thick fog. At 6 at night the wind was so strong that it split our sails.

(6): No prayers, the weather was so very bad; for it split our main topmast, and also our fore topmast. I

buried Isaac Webb out at the gunroom port. All our carpenters are at work at the masts.

7: A little after 2 we come to an anchor again before Rocketta, in twenty-four fathom water; for we cannot get out of this Bay. At 12 this night we get up our main topmast; and 'tis strange to them that have never seen it to consider how a piece of timber of that length and thickness (viz. nineteen inches through) should be made to stand on the top of another piece, and to bear that stress. The mainmast is thirty-two yards in length. The main topmast on the top of that is twenty-one yards and a foot. The top-gallant above that is eight yards and one foot. So that from the bottom to the top there is three-score yards and five foot, besides the flag-staff, which at the least is six yards in length.

10: Here we lie still wind bound. We put up our new fore topmast.

12: The wind is at last come about. At 8 we are all under sail; at 9 we meet our Vice-Admiral, the *Rupert*, the *Mary*, the *Orange Tree*, the *Sapphire*, and the *Phœnix*—all English frigates. And now we have more alterations and trouble. Captain Roome Coyle[83] was ordered out of the *Phœnix* into our ship, the *Royal Oak*, and came on board us at 8; and we were very merry. Captain Cloudesley Shovell[84] out of the *Sapphire* into the *Phœnix;* and Lieutenant Blagge[85] out of the *Rupert* into the *Sapphire*.

(13): A fair day, but a foul wind: we sail to and fro, and cannot yet get out of this Bay. No prayers, by reason of the multiplicity of our new Captain's business.

The grampuses play about our ships. Now we have a fair day, and wind too.

14: And this morning we are got out of our beloved Bay of Almeria. We are more merry than I thought we should have been: our new Captain is wondrous free, not only of his excellent wine but also of his own good and free company among us. We had a pig to dinner this day worth 8s. in England.

15: A fresh gale brings us past Malaga by 10; and at anchor in Tangier Road by 9, where we find many of our frigates.

16: We sent the longboat on shore for provision, but got none.

17: Much rain all the last night; and so all this day.

19: Fair both days. And we are busy in taking in some provisions, and passengers for England.

(20): Good Easter Day; and at 10 we are under sail for Cadiz. But we made a short voyage, for the wind altered, and we came to anchor again before 11. And one Mr Grimes (one of the Ministers of Tangier, who comes for England with us) preached on board us. The Moors alarmed the town this night, but did no damage at all.

21: By 8 we are under sail, and salute the town with eleven guns; they gave us as many. We give them three; they did the same. Then we salute the Vice-Admiral with nine; he gives us seven; we return three, he one; and we give him one again; and so we sail on with a bad wind.

22: The wind was so tempestuous and also cross last night that it forced us back ten leagues into the

Straits mouth; so that we were forced to make for Gibraltar, where we came to an anchor a little after 12.

23: This day came the Governor and many more brave fellows on board us to see our ship. At their departure we gave them three cheers and fifteen guns.

24: 'Tis a very fair day; and many Spanish ladies come on board, and dine with our Captain.

25: By 10 we are under sail again; but we have bad luck, for, making the anchor fast, the hook brake and the anchor ran down again; and we sailed not till 12. But we have a fair and fresh gale; and at 3 we pass by Tarrifa[86] on our starboard side, and by 5 we pass by Tangier on the larboard side, with a brave gale.

26: By 12 we come into Cadiz Road, but not to an anchor, for there we were ordered to the contrary. And at night we made sail for England, with Sir John Ernle in the *Defiance*, the *Homer* fire-ship, and at least forty merchants. *Deus nobiscum!*

(27): I preached my first sermon in the *Royal Oak*. *Psalm*, lxvi, 13. 'Tis a fair day; and we are over against St Mary Port Cape. Calm weather to the end of this month.

May 1st: A fair day, and a fresh gale, and we are past Cape St Vincent. I buried John Johnson out of the gunroom port.

2: Calm this day. Some strangers coming on board to dine with us caused Doctor Grimes to give us an Easter sermon. I buried Henry Johns out of the gunroom port.

3: This morn we are in sight of Mount Chego in

Portugal, with a small wind. I buried Richard Dell, as before.

(4): Prayers; but no sermon, because our Captain dined on board a merchant-man. Next to a calm; but that small wind that is is cross.

5: The same weather still to our great discomfort; for we have little fresh-water, and as little provisions for such a sick ship's company. God send us a short passage!

6: Fair weather, but no wind.

7: A small gale. I buried Thomas Smyth.

8: A cross-wind; at 10 at night rose a brave gale.

9: And holds the same to-day. I buried John Horsenayle.

10: The gale holds still. About 8 this morning our foretop mast came by the board at once, and brake in three pieces, but hurt nobody.

(11): Doctor Grimes preached to-day. A brave gale.

12: I buried Mr Richard Cooling in a coffin.

13: An indifferent good gale, and fair weather. And at 12 we are in the King of England's dominions (*Deo gratia*), that is we are past Cape Finisterre, and entering on the Bay of Biscay.[87] This day I was much abused in my cabin by Samuel Bayly, with base language. I may live to requite him on shore.

14: A brave gale to carry us over this dangerous Bay, for which our noble Captain keeps *grande festo*.

15: The gale holds, but we are hindered by some bad sailers.

16: Little wind. I buried William Watson, who made Sam. Bayly his executor.

17: A brave gale, but we are hindered by some heavy sailing merchants. This afternoon we call all our men to their quarters, in case we have occasion.

(18): A fair wind ſtill. And because we were near England Doctor Grimes desired of me to give us a farewell sermon.

19: Some rain, but a fair wind. We met with a small French vessel, which, after we had fired at her seven guns, came under our ſtern and told us there was no war between us and France. She had neither boats' colours nor so much as an ancient-ſtaff. We sounded, and found ground at 119 fathom.

20: This day we sound, and find ground at 76 fathom, and are in the latitude of 48 and a half, and do thereby know that we are near Old England.

21: This morning we meet with two English frigates, the *Dunkirk* and the *Lion*, who acquaint us with the affairs of England, and the diſturbances made there by the Papiſts' damnable plot.[88] And this morning we made the Land's End, and rejoice in bowls of punch that we can see Old England once more, though we have loſt many of our men.

22: By 5 this morning we pass by Falmouth; and at half an hour paſt 4 in the afternoon we are, thanks be to God, at anchor in Plymouth Road.

23: Agent Pierson came in this morning, and the Governor of the citadel[89] dined on board us. *Grande feſto.* This was the firſt day we drank beer of a twelvemonth.

24: This morning we weigh anchor. *Grande feſto*, for the Governor of the Lord Lambert's Island, and

divers others dined on board us. We sail, and our yawl is left behind us, with our purser and some others. (25): No prayers, our Captain being not well. I buried Jeffery Tranow. By 4 we are over against the Isle of Wight, with a fair gale. At 9 at night, and after, we heard several guns fired to the Southward.

26: By 8 we are past the Seven Cliffs, and, the wind failing in the evening, we came to an anchor in Dover Road a little after 9, being loth to sail in the dark.

27: By 11 we are at anchor in the Downs, where several salutes pass: and we rejoice in bowls of punch and brandy.

28: *Grande festo* on board us, having most of the Commanders in the Downs and their ladies at dinner.

29: King Charles his birthday and happy return to England. Soon after 12 Sandown Castle began, and fired twenty-one guns. After that Walmer Castle; then Deal Castle. After them our Admiral; next the *Defiance;* next our ship, the *Royal Oak;* and then with her all the rest of the fleet fired all together, so that for an hour's space it seemed like a sea-fight, and all in honour of King Charles, whom God bless with long life! etc.

30: A rainy day. I buried Joseph Bryan. And we sent to shore thirty-two sick men—pitiful creatures.

31: The Muster Master mustered us, and wanted above sixty men that were on the books, all dead at sea.

June (1*st*): A gallant fair day. Prayers; but no sermon, for our Captain dined not on board our ship to-day.

2: Rainy weather. Our yawl and the men in her

that were left behind at Plymouth came this day to us, and we were glad to see one the other.

3–5: Rainy and stormy these days.

6: And so to-day. I went on shore to visit the minister of Deal, Mr Garrett, to acquaint him with our Captain's desire.

7: The Prick Master came to muster us, and found us defective.

(8): I preached at Upper Deal: text, *Psalm*, lxvi, 13. And here our Captain and myself and some others received the sacrament.

9: This morning we had orders to come up to Sheerness.

10: This day our Captain and myself and our senior Lieutenant went to Dover, where we took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and were nobly entertained by the victualler.

11: Very windy. This day the Lord Treasurer's son and the Lord ——— came on board to see our ship.

12: This morning we get one anchor on board, and heave short, ready to sail; but a fog fell and stayed our passage.

13: We came to an anchor the last night for two hours, and so this day for two hours.

14: The last night we came to an anchor about two leagues from Sheerness. The wind being foul, we towed in about 7, and came to an anchor about 11 of the clock.

(15): Prayers; but no sermon—our Captain dined not on board.

16: Our pilot came on board to carry our ship up the river.

17: This day we loaded a hoy with empty casks for London.

18: Strange blowing weather for the time of the year.

19: We are preparing to take out our guns.

20: We have news of our being paid off speedily. I went on shore with our Lieutenant; and Sir Thomas Allin said he would pay us off on Monday.

21: We are busy in unrigging our ship in part.

(22): All mad to-day. I went to Rochester, with our Lieutenant and purser, and drink sack, etc.

23: We leave our ship at anchor at the Black Stakes, and are paid off for the *Royal Oak;* only myself and our Chirurgeon[90] are demurred for our groats and twopences.[91]

24: I took my man[92] back to our ship, and sent him with my goods to London in a hoy; and I, returning to Rochester to my aunt Nicholes, found there Mrs Clipsham and my son Thomas, and my cousin Betty Smith, who came so far to welcome me home.

25: We view the Castle, College, and other places.

26: We view the *Royal Sovereign* and other ships, and also the Dock and wood-yard.

27: Accompanied with Councillor ———— and his daughter, we all go in a coach to Gravesend, and thence in a pair [of] oars to London, where

28: We arrived at Billingsgate about 2 a-clock on Saturday morning.

I stayed at London about 6 weeks, being in hopes of being paid off [for the *Bristol*] every week; but at

the last, having notice that we should not be paid till Michaelmas, I went into the country to my own house.

Came up again at Michaelmas Day; stayed there about three weeks: was paid off at last, with some abatements; and then came safe home again to Spernall, *Deo gratias!*

SPERNALL CHURCH

(From an engraving by Thomas Higham, about 1820)

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NOTES TO FIRST VOYAGE

[1] John Haughton, First Lieutenant, *Unicorn*, 1670; Second Lieutenant, *St George*, 1672; *Bonaventure*, 1673; Lieutenant, *Assistance*, 1675; *Faulcon*, 1677; *Unicorn*, 1678; *Dover*, 1679. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 363.]

[2] Houlding or Holden. In 1666, Captain of the *Cygnett*, and soon afterwards removed into the *London*, hired ship-of-war. In 1668 served as Lieutenant of the *Old James;* in 1669, of the *Centurion;* on the commencement of the Second Dutch War in 1672, appointed First Lieutenant of the *Charles*. In the same year he was appointed Second Captain of the same ship, under Sir J. Harman; and, when in the following year Sir John removed into the *London*, Captain Houlding accompanied him in the same capacity. He had no other command till the 22nd of April, 1675, when he was made Captain of the *Assurance*, from which ship he was in a few days removed into the *Assistance*. On the 12th of April, 1678, he was appointed Commander of the *Unicorn;* on the 30th of November following, of the *Advice*, a guardship at Portsmouth; and on the 18th of April, 1682, succeeded as Captain of the *Woolwich*. [Charnock, *Biog. Navalis*, i, 236; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 336.]

[3] Between Erith and Gravesend.

[4] The Sundays throughout the Diary are distinguished by being encircled.

[5] Throughout the Diary Teonge spells 'one' as 'on', as is not uncommon towards the end of the seventeenth century.

[6] A shoal in the Thames Estuary, about six miles East of the Nore; now marked by four buoys.

[7] For the probable words of this song see Commander Robinson's *British Tar*, pp. 429–30, and *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, p. 9. The tune was sounded on the trumpets as part of the salute given to any superior officer or person of rank upon leaving the ship, as the following extract from Captain Nathaniel Butler's *Dialogues concerning Marine Affairs* (*Sloane MSS.* 758) clearly shows: "Being againe returned into the Barge; After that the Trumpetts have sounded a loathe-to-departe and that the barge is falne off, . . . He is to be saluted with soe many Gunns for an Adieu as the shyp is able to give." For the probable tune, see *Mariner's Mirror*, ix, p. 9.

[8] Thomas Knevet (spelt Nevett in the MS.), Commander of the *Giles* ketch in 1663, and of the *Lilly* in the following year, whence he was shortly removed into the *Richmond*. At the commencement of the Dutch War he was particularly active in distressing the enemy's trade by the capture of a number of their merchant-vessels. Appointed to the *Algier*, 1672; and he appears to have been the first officer in the English navy who used the stratagem of disguising his ship for the purpose of drawing the enemy within his reach. This he did while commanding the *Algier* by housing his guns, showing no colours, striking even his flag-staff, and working his ship with much apparent awkwardness. He succeeded in deceiving a Dutch privateer off Aldborough who had done much injury to our coasting trade and eluded our swiftest-sailing cruisers, so that she ran boldly down to him as to a certain prize, and discovered not her mistake until it was too late to escape. [Charnock, i, 87.] The *Algier*, to which Teonge refers, was wrecked 17th July, 1673. [*Calendar of State Papers*: *Domestic*, 1673, p. 442.] Knevet died in 1676, and in September of that year his widow was petitioning the Admiralty for relief. [Navy Records Soc., lvii, 348.]

[9] South-East of the Oaze.

[10] The Kentish Flats extend five and a half miles from the coast between Reculvers and Warden Point.

[11] See p. 261, note 20.

[12] i.e. The lead-line for sounding.

[13] The Galloper Shoal; now marked by a lightship.

[14] See Preface, p. 3.

[15] A small flag, or streamer.

[16] Spelt *Scippio* in the MS.: it belonged to the Turkey Company.

[17] See *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, p. 10. This tune does not appear to have survived under this name. The *Assistance* carried six trumpeters, and Teonge refers to them several times.

[18] Leading sleeves, or leading strings, from *dade*=to lead, support. Teonge's use of the word is the earliest recorded in the *New Eng. Dict.*

[19] The custom of saluting with an odd number of guns appears to have been observed from a very early period: the origin of the usage, as peculiar to the Navy, is not ascertained.

Captain Nathaniel Butler, writing in 1634, says: "The odd nomber is, in these wayes of salute and ceremonie, soe observable at sea, that whensoever anie gunnes are given in an even nomber, it is received for an infallible expression that either the Captaine, or master, or master gunner, is dead in the voiage. . . . It is a generall custome alsoe uppon the deathe either of the captaine, master, master gunner of the shippe, or anie other prime officer, when the corpse is to be throwne over-

boarde, to ringe his knell and farewell with some gunns, the which are allwaies to be of *an even nomber*." [*Sloane MSS.*, 758.]

For further information on the subject see the instructions issued in 1663 " For regulating the Ceremony of Honour in Salutes." [*Memoirs of English Naval Affairs*, by James, Duke of York, pp. 81–2.]

[20] The practice of 'striking' dates from a remote period, and the English claim to it was not abandoned until after Trafalgar.

The rules or etiquette regarding the ceremony of 'striking' are thus described by Captain Nathaniel Butler, writing in 1634: " When any inferior shyp or fleete being to come upp, and passe within reache of the canon of some of the fleete more eminent in any respect than itt selfe, that then all the fleet doe not only take in all their flaggs, but that every particular shyp besides belonging to that fleete as they come upp even with the Admirall of the other, by way of acknowledgment and submission, doe strike all their Top-sayles, upon the Bunk, that is, doe hale them doune, att the least halfe mast highe. This compliment is requirable from all shyps whatsoever not beinge of his Majesty's owne." [*Sloane MSS.*, 758.]

If a merchant-ship refused to strike until shot at, it was customary to make the Captain pay the value of the powder and shot expended. [Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*, 206–7.]

[21] Known as The Seven Sisters.

[22] The system of naval punishment for minor offences appears at all times to have rested very much upon the discretion of the Commander. The most usual modes of correction at sea during the greater part of the seventeenth century seem to have been the *capstan*, the *bilboes*, and *ducking*. The following account is taken from *A Dialogicall Discourse concerninge Marine Affairs*, 1634, by Captain Nathaniell Butler. [B.M. *Sloane MSS.*, 758.]

The capstan: " A capstans barre beinge thrust through the hole of the burrell, the offenders armes are extended to full the length, and soe made faste unto the barre crostwise; haveing sometimes a basket of bulletts, or some other the like weight, hanginge his neck upon, in which posture he continues untill hee be made either to confesse some plotte or cryme whereof hee is pregnantly suspected, or that hee have received suche condigne sufferinge as hee is suffered to undergoe by the ceinsure of the Captaine. The punishment by the bilboes is when a delinquent is putt in yrons, or in a kind of stocks used for that purpose, the which are more or less heavy and pinchinge as the qualitie of the offence is proved against the delinquent.—The ducking att the maine yarde arme is, when a malefactor by havinge a rope fastened under his armes and about his middle, and under his breech, is thus hoysed up to the end of the yarde; from whence hee is againe violentlie

let fall into the sea, sometimes twise, sometimes three severall tymes one after another; and if the offence be very fowle, he is alsoe drawne under the very keele of the shippe, the which is termed keel-rakinge; and whilſt hee is thus under water a great gunn is given fire unto righte over his head; the which is done as well to aſtonish him the more with the thunder thereof, which much troubles him, as to give warning untoe all others to looke out, and to beware by his harms.

As for all pettie pilferinges and commissiones of that kind, these are generally punished with the whippe, the offender being to that purpose bound faſt to the capſtan; and the waggery and idleness of shyppe boyes are paid by the Boatswayne with the rodd, and commonlie this execution is done upon the Mondaye morninges, and is soe frequentlie in use that some meere seamen and saylors doe believe in good earneſt that they shall never have a fayre wind untill the poore boyes be duelye brought to the cheſt; that is, whipped, every Monday morninge."

[23] The French *privateers* at this period infeſted the Channel in such a manner that, without any regard to the neutrality of England, they seized her ships, and, as if in open war, made prizes of them. It was this description of enemy that the fleet in which Teonge sailed expected to encounter. During the whole of this year (1675) the matter was engaging the serious attention of the Admiralty. [See Navy Records Soc., vol. lvii, pp. 128 *sqq.*]

[24] MS. cittydell.

[25] Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, born 1591. When the Parliamentary infantry was surrounded at Loſtwithiel, 2nd September, 1644, their Commander, the Earl of Essex, escaped to Plymouth in a small vessel. The incident caused a Royaliſt journal to make the following pertinent remark: "Why the rebels voted to live and die with the Earl of Essex, since the Earl hath declared that he will not live and die with them."

[26] The weſtern promontory of Plymouth Sound.

[27] What would now be called a *tender*.

[28] The Mewſtone and Eddyſtone are different rocks: the former at the Eaſt entrance of the Sound; the latter where Teonge describes it.

[29] MS. lite of.

[30] MS. Plimworth.

[31] Cape St Vincent.

[32] *Sic* in MS. Teonge, of course, means an hour.

[33] Sallee, on W. coaſt of Morocco. The name was frequently used for the Barbary pirates generally.

[34] Cape Roca, known to English sailors as the Rock of Lisbon.

[35] i.e. As plentiful as.

[36] Cales, in the MS.

[37] A game in which something is shaken between both hands, and then a guess is made in which hand it is retained. The meaning here is obvious.

[38] The state of Tangier in 1675 is minutely described in this passage of the Diary. It came into the possession of the British Crown by the marriage of Charles II with Catharine of Braganza. Evacuated in 1684.

[39] A general name for a class of white wines imported from Spain and the Canaries.

[40] At the time of its construction the Mole at Tangier was the greatest engineering feat undertaken by Englishmen. It was started in 1663, and work on it was abandoned in 1678. Though unfinished, it was a solid structure, 1436 ft. in length, with a mean breadth of 110 ft. For its destruction in 1683–4, on the evacuation of Tangier, 2000 soldiers and seamen were employed. A writer in 1676, a year after Teonge's visit, wrote: "The Mole is in its design the greatest and most noble undertaking in the world . . . now nearly 470 yards long and 30 yards broad . . . with pillars for the mooring of ships. Upon the Mole are a vast number of Great Guns, which are almost continually kept warm during fair weather, in giving and paying salutes to ships which come in and out." [Routh, *Tangier*, 354–5; 361–2.]

[41] Lieutenant, 1661; Captain, Tangier Regiment of Foot, 1663; described in a letter of 1668 as "a worthy gentleman and a good soldier". Major, Tangier Regiment, 1677. [Dalton, English Army Lists, i, 18, 33, 38, 41, 194.]

[42] Captain Daniell's garden is thus described in 1676: "An even plain and very pleasant walk leads to Charles Fort . . . commanded by Capt. Charles Daniel, whose ingenuity I must not forget, that hath so curiously beautified the Fort, without impairing the strength, having on one side made a most delightful Walk between the Wall and the Graft, about 12 foot wide and near 200 yards long, curiously gravelled, and covered close with vines, which run up upon Pillars and afford a cool shade on the hottest day. On another side he hath his Melon Gardens, and not far from thence his Garden for Flowers and Herbs, so that Charles Fort, which is the great Terrour to the Moors and which they dare not come near, is the greatest delight of the inhabitants of Tangier, and continually visited like Spring-Garden." [Cited in Routh, *Tangier*, p. 297.]

[43] MS. reive. A string or rope of onions. The earliest reference in the *New Eng. Dict.* is 1678.

[44] Ape Hill: Abyla, the rock on the African coast which with Gibraltar (Calpe) formed the Pillars, or Columns, of Hercules.

[45] Gibraltar. MS. reads " Guybralter, *ali*[*a*]*s* Gibblitore ". Then a Spanish possession. Captured by the British fleet under Sir George Rooke in 1704. In a document of 1599 I find it written " Jebbatore ".

[46] The Moors have a great veneration for their Marabouts, who are generally persons of a rigid and austere life. Some purport to receive visions, while others pretend to work miracles. They are extravagant in their pretensions of forecasting future events. Some attribute their powers to witchcraft and enchantment. [T. Shaw, *Travels in Barbary*, 1808, i, pp. 438–43.]

[47] See note 55.

[48] A small sail sometimes set under the foot of a lower studdingsail.

[49] Cabo de Gata, S. Spain, 17 miles E.S.E. of Almeria.

[50] Cape St. Pola.

[51] MS. Aligant.

[52] The name commonly applied to a certain species of wood-boring beetles.

[53] Wine from Alicante : see also p. 54.

[54] A typical ' purser's pack ' of the period is printed in the *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, p. 325. The amount of a man's purchase was deducted from his pay.

[55] Teonge refers to the old custom (see p. 47) of demanding money from everyone on the first occasion of entering the Straits, in lieu of which they were ducked into the sea from the mainyard. Dr Covel, who passed through the Straits in 1670, describes the ceremony. [Hakluyt Soc., vol. lxxxvii, p. 105.]

[56] See note 22.

[57] Cagliari.

[58] Zembra Island, Gulf of Tunis.

[59] i.e. Botargo. A relish made of the roes of the mullet or tunny.

[60] A Mediterranean term implying the licence to trade and communicate with any place upon the production of a clean bill of health.

[61] Nicholas Cotonier was Grand Master in 1675. He was elected upon the death of his brother in 1663, and died in April, 1680, aged 73. In 1675 the King of England sent letters to the Grand Master to thank him for the civilities shown to his Admiral and ships when in the harbour ; probably upon this occasion.

[62] For a description of tarras, see note 202.

[63] These are the " fosses " (as they are now styled), which are still used for storing wheat for the Island and for the Navy.

[64] MS. Vallands.

[65] Teonge's relation of the princely attendance which the sick knights received when in the hospital, is corroborated in the account given by Sandys about this period, who, writing of Malta, says : " Saint

John's Hospital doth merit regard, not only for the building, but for the entertainment there given, for all that fall sick are admitted thereunto. The knights themselves there lodge when hurt or diseased, where they have physic for the body and the soul also, such as they give; the attendants many, the beds overspread with fine canopies, every fortnight having a change of linen; served they are by the junior knights in silver, and every Friday by the Great Master himself, accompanied with the Great Crosses; a service obliged unto from the first institution, and therefore called Knights Hospitallers."

[66] Waist-cloths of canvas, erected above the bulwarks, to shelter the men during an engagement.

[67] A great deal of cotton is grown on the island, and a certain amount of village manufacture of cotton-fabric still exists. Representing about five times as much in pre-War currency.

[68] A frisk or caper.

[69] Ceremonious leave-taking.

[70] A single-decked vessel of two masts, equipped with triangular sails, called lateen sails. Peculiar to the Mediterranean.

[71] James Barber; in 1673 appointed to the *Bonetta* sloop; in 1675 to the *Tripoli* prize (a settee); and on the 12th July, 1677, back again into his old ship the *Bonetta*. On the 13th of June, 1679, he was appointed to command the *Assistance;* and on the 13th June, 1681, again removed to the *Bonetta*. On the 29th July, 1682, he was made Captain of the *Ann & Christopher* guardship; and was reappointed to the same vessel on the 9th June, 1685. On the 18th March, 1688–9, he was made Captain of the *Tiger*, of forty-six guns, and died on the 3rd February, 1691. [Charnock, i, 385.]

[72] MS. Trypolees.

[73] The operation of heaving a ship over on one side, by purchase on her masts, so that she may be cleaned, or breamed, for which see p. 282, note 67.

[74] MS. Wettwand. In 1665, Captain Wetwang, Commander of the *Norwich*. Early in 1666 he removed into the *Tiger*. In 1668, made Captain of the *Dunkirk*, and soon after removed into the *Edgar*. Appointed in 1672 to the *Warspight*. In 1673 he commanded the *Henry*, and on 28th May the *Sovereign*. On the 10th November following he was appointed to the *Newcastle*. In the month of March he had the good fortune to capture a large Dutch East India ship, of very great value. On the 7th of January, 1677–8, made Captain of the *Monmouth*. A rupture with France being expected during the ensuing spring, he was appointed on the 28th of March to command the *Royal James*, on board of which Sir Thomas Allen, Admiral of the Fleet, had hoisted his flag. In June, 1679, he was appointed to the command of the

Northumberland. On the 21st October following made Captain of the *Woolwich*, and received the honour of knighthood on the 20th of November, 1680. [Charnock, i, 185.]

[75] Thomas Fouler, Lieutenant, *Reserve*, 1670; *York, London*, 1672; *Prince*, 1673; Captain, *Prince*, 1673; *Rupert*, 1673; *Swallow*, 1675; *Greenwich*, 1678; *Henrietta*, *Swallow*, 1678; *Woolwich*, 1683; *Golden Horse*, 1685; *Happy Return*, 1685. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 352; Charnock, i, 394.]

[76] John Temple, only son of Peter Temple, of Temple in the county of Leicester. In 1660 appointed Lieutenant on board the *House de Switen*, and in 1665 removed to the *Constant Catherine*. In 1671 promoted to the command of the *Drake*, and in the following year removed into the *Mermaid;* in the month of August had the good fortune to capture a valuable Dutch prize off the Texel. On the 9th of August, 1673, appointed Commander of the *Adventure;* on the 29th March, 1675, made Captain of the *Quaker* ketch; and on the 22nd of April, Captain of the *Dartmouth*. On the 10th March, 1677–8, he was appointed to the *Jersey;* and on the 19th June, 1680, to the *Sweepstakes*. On the 11th June, 1685, he was made Commander of the *Mary Rose*. [Charnock, i, 328; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 413.]

[77] Sir John Narbrough, born 1640. Lieutenant, 1664; Captain of the Duke of York's flagship at Solebay, 1672; knighted 1673; Commissioner of the Navy, 1680–7; died 1688. For an account of this officer see *Dict. of National Biog.;* for a list of his various commands see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, pp. 314, 387. An account of the expedition is given on pp. 299–301.

[78] Born 1640; Lieutenant, *Sapphire*, 1661; Captain of the *Santa Maria* in battles 1–4 June, 1666; knighted 1673; Admiral of the Blue, 1687; died 1717. [For a detailed account of his services see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, p. 410; Charnock, i, 179–82.]

[79] Robert Stout, Lieutenant of the *Resolution*, and afterwards of the *Revenge*, 1665. In 1666 appointed to the *Henry*, and afterwards to the *Lyon*. In 1668 promoted to the command of the *Roe* ketch; in 1669 he returned again to his former station of Lieutenant, being appointed second of the *St David*, the ship on board which Sir John Harman had hoisted his flag as Rear-admiral of the fleet on the Mediterranean station. In 1671 appointed to the command of the *Fountain* fire-ship; and, in the following year, of the *Forrester* frigate. In 1673 promoted to the *Princess*, and behaved with exemplary spirit in the engagement between the English and Dutch fleets, on the 11th of August in that year. On the 21st January, 1673–4, removed into the *Warspight;* and, on the 15th of June following,

into the *Success*. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, pp. 409–10; Charnock, i, 313.]

[80] See note 75.

[81] See note 76.

[82] Richard Griffith, Lieutenant, *Greenwich*, 1668; *Portland*, 1668; Captain, *Holmes*, 1672; *Hampshire*, 1673; *Castle* frigate, 1674; *Diamond*, 1674; *Jersey*, 1677; *York*, 1678. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 357.]

[83] Lieutenant, *Rainbow*, 1665; *Loyal Subject*, 1667; *French Ruby*, 1668; *Mary Rose*, 1673; Captain, *Mary Rose*, 1675; First Lieutenant, *Jersey*, 1677.

[84] Richard Country in 1661 commanded the *Hind* ketch; in 1662 he was Captain of the *Emsworth* sloop; in 1664 he removed to the *Nonsuch;* in 1667 to the *Forrester;* and in 1668, to the *Drake*. In 1672 he served as Lieutenant of the *Portland;* and in 1673 was appointed Captain of the *Roebuck*. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 339.]

[85] Lieutenant, *Dreadnought*, 1665; Captain, *Dreadnought*, 1667; *Rainbow*, 1672; *Old James*, 1673; *Portsmouth*, 1675; *York*, 1678; *Diamond*, 1680; *Anthelope*, 1680. [For an account of this officer, see Charnock, vol. i, pp. 298–9.]

[86] Lieutenant, *Providence*, 1665; Captain, *Marmaduke*, 1666; *Dartmouth*, 1666; *Richmond*, 1670; *Bonadventure*, 1672; *Dartmouth*, 1674; *Jersey and Yarmouth*, 1675; *Saudadoes*, 1677; *Mountague*, 1678; *Saudadoes*, 1678–85; *Hampshire*, 1687; *Henrietta*, 1688. [For an account of this officer, see Charnock, vol. i, pp. 273–4.]

[87] John Votiere, Captain, *Swan* fire-ship, 1667; and of various fire-ships until 1683; *Richmond* yacht, 1683; *Kingfisher* ketch, 1685.

[88] Henry Williams, Captain, *John* fire-hoy, 1667, and of various fire-ships until 1680; Captain, *Constant Warwick*, 1682; *Cleveland* yacht, 1685; *Advice*, 1688. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 424.]

[89] Captain, *Star* fire-ship, 1667; *Providence*, 1668; *Woolwich*, 1673; *Wivenhoe*, 1675; *America* guard-ship, 1682–5; *Swan*, 1685; *Guardland*, 1686; *Anthelope*, 1688. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 397.]

[90] Evidently a relative: see p. 197.

[91] See note 59.

[92] Perriers, frequently called Pattereras or Pedereros. A small breech-loading swivel-gun.

[93] This city was originally built by the Romans; it was afterwards taken by the Vandals, and destroyed in the thirteenth century.

[94] According to the official account, the *Success* was sent home for "not doing her part upon the two Tripolines that first came forth". [Navy Records Soc., xxxvi, 129.]

[95] A half-galley was about 120 ft. long and 18 ft. broad. It was

furnished with two masts and two large lateen-sails, and usually twenty-five banks of oars. A galley was about 160 ft. long, had three masts and thirty-two banks of oars.

[95*] Arches, i.e. the Islands of the Greek Archipelago, known to English sailors of the 17th century as The Arches, see Digby, *Voyage to the Mediterranean*, 1628, pp. 33–5.

[96] Iskanderun, or Alexandretta, situated at the extremity of the Mediterranean. A port for the overland trade from the East. The Levant, or Turkey Company, had an agency and factory here till 1825.

[97] Unidentified, but evidently a wine, both white and red, of Zante or Cyprus. Teonge frequently spells it Rubella.

[98] The following account of Zante in the *Travels* of Sandys strikingly corroborates this: "It is a custom among them to invite certain men unto their marriages, whom they call *compeers*. Every one of these do bestow a ring, which the priest doth put upon the bride and bridegroom's fingers, interchangeably shifting them, and so he doth the garlands of their heads. Of *these* they are never jealous (an abuse in that kind being reputed as detestable a crime as if committed by a natural brother); so that they lightly choose those for their compeers that have been formerly suspected too familiar. The bridegroom entering the church, sticks his dagger into the door—available against enchantment; for here it is a common practice to bewitch them, made thereby impotent with their wives until the charm be burnt or otherwise consumed." [Sandys (G.), *Travels*, 1673, p. 6.]

[99] Teonge has here written, in reference to the following verses: "Some verses in a paper tells you of some other misfortunes which are to be inserted in this place."

[100] This parallel between the wines Rubola and Syracusa is sufficiently ingenious; and, though the humour is somewhat gross, the description of the effects of drunkenness is too natural not to be recognised as a faithful representation, which time has not changed.

[101] i.e. Bilboes: see note 22. Long bars or bolts, on which iron shackles slid, with a padlock; used to confine prisoners by the legs, similar to the stocks.

[102] MS. ceased, i.e. Seize, to bind or make fast.

[103] The boatswain's cane; see also note 148.

[104] See note 22.

[105] MS. cease. Teonge always wrote cease for seize.

[106] Entered in the Pay-book of the *Assistance* as "John Fogge, Midshipman Extra", a very early reference to this rating.

[107] Slur=to slip or slide about. One of the earliest references to the use of the word in this sense.

[108] In the original MS. this follows the verses on pp. 77–8.

[109] i.e. wore for the first time.

[110] Captured by Richard I in 1191. Under the Turks 1571–1878, at which latter date it came under British rule.

[111] MS. Soria.

[112] Teonge is slightly wrong here. The extreme length of Cyprus is about 140 miles; its breadth is 40 to 50 miles.

[113] Paolo Paruta, Venetian historian; died 1598. His *Guerra de Cipro* forms pt. 2 of his *Della Historia Vinetiana*, 1605.

[114] Silk-stone, called also cotton-stone: really asbestos. Supposed to have been mined in Cyprus in classical times, and used in the manufacture of articles of clothing. Most of the asbestos mined in Cyprus at the present day is used for building purposes. When mined, it is possessed of a sub-resinous, greasy lustre, wavy, vitreous, and like silk to the touch. Of late years its commercial value has been realized, and during the War Cyprus exported to the United Kingdom and British possessions in one year asbestos to the value of £15,000. [Luke, *Handbook of Cyprus*, pp. 221–3.]

[115] Teonge was misinformed. It is peculiar to Lemnos, one of the Ægean Islands, and not to Cyprus. Accounts of it are given by Pliny, Dioscorides, and Galen among others. By the ancient writers it was called "Lemnian earth," and in Western Europe it was known as '*terra sigillata*'. It is supposed to have been a remedy for a variety of disorders, and an antidote for poison. Teonge's account of the opening up of the earth is correct, the ceremony taking place once a year on the 6th of August, with much ceremonial. For a full account of it, see Tozer, *Islands of the Ægean*, pp. 255–66.

[116] MS. faine.

[117] MS. pristin grandetsa's; i.e. original magnificence.

[118] Catherine Cornelia, or Cornaro, wife of James the Bastard, King of Cyprus, and adopted daughter of Venice, upon the death of her husband fled to Venice in 1473, where she was honourably received, and in the Senate house laid down her crown and sceptre, and resigned her kingdom. The Venetians immediately sent a sufficient force to suppress the tumults and take possession of the island, which remained in their hands until about the middle of the year 1570.

[119] Arsûs, the ancient Rhosus. The southerly point of the Bay of Scanderoon (Alexandretta). Known to early mariners by the name of Cape Hog.

[120] Scanderoon is twenty-eight or thirty leagues from Aleppo.

[121] Raki, an aromatic liquor made from grain, spirit, or grape juice, used in Greece and the Levant.

[122] See also Hakluyt Soc., vol. lxxxvii, p. 32, for an account of

the pigeon-service in 1599. The name of the ship, and time of arrival was always sent to Aleppo.

[123] Possibly Dudley North (born 1641), the leading merchant and Treasurer of the Levant Company at this time; or his brother Montagu, also engaged in the same trade. Dudley returned to England in 1680, and was knighted in 1682. There is not a Captain North in the Army Lists of the period.

[124] MS. Syrkett.

[125] See note 121.

[126] MS. Coperey. Cooperage, or cooper's work. Every ship carried one or more coopers, because all provisions were carried in casks, which were taken to pieces when not in actual use.

[127] Robert Huntington, born 1637. Chaplain to the Levant Company at Aleppo, 1670–81. Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 1683–93; Bishop of Raphoe, 1701, in which year he died.

[128] William, 6th Lord Paget, born 1637. Ambassador at Vienna, 1689–93; Ambassador at Constantinople, 1693–1702. Died 1713.

[129] MS. Allopeenes.

[130] MS. loare.

[131] The bo'sun's whistle is one of the oldest survivals of the sea service. For an account of it, see *Mariner's Mirror*, v, 72; viii, 98.

[132] See note 157.

[133] Rummer; a kind of large drinking-glass.

[134] The Dardanelles.

[135] In Sandys' *Travels* we have the following account of these ruins, which he, as well as Teonge, supposed to be those of Troy:

"These reliques do sufficiently declare the greatness of the latter [Troy], and not a little the excellency: the wall consisting of great square stones, hard, black and spongy, in divers places yet standing, supported on the inside with pillars, about two yards distant from each other, and garnished once with many now ruined turrets, containing a confusion of thrown-down buildings, with ample cisterns for the receipt of rain, it being seated on a sandy soil, and altogether destitute of fountains. Foundations are here of a Christian temple, and two towers of marble that have better resisted the fury of time; the one on the top of a hill, the other nearer the sea in the valley. From the wall of the city another extendeth, supported with buttresses, partly standing and partly thrown down, well nigh unto Ida, and then turning, is said to reach to the Gulph of Satelia, about twenty miles distant. Half a mile off and west of these ruins, opposing Tenedos, are the hot-water baths heretofore adorned and neighboured with magnificent buildings; the way thither enclosed as it were with sepulchres of marble, many of the like being about the city, both of Greeks and

Latins, as appeareth by the several characters. Two baths there be, the one choaked with rubbige, the other yet in use, though under a simple coverture; but now the ruins bear not altogether that form, lessened daily by the Turks, who carryed the pillars and stones unto Constantinople to adorn the buildings of the great Bassaes." [Sandys (G.), *Travels*, 1673, p. 18.]

[136] MS. codd. The inmost recess of a bay or inland sea. This is the earliest known use of the word in this sense.

[137] For another account see Bent, *Early Voyages & Travels in the Levant*, [Hakluyt Soc.], p. 32.

[138] Dr Alexander Russell, who went out in 1741 as physician to the English factory at Aleppo, records that: "The heads of certain criminals are carefully flayed, and the skins, after being stuffed so as to preserve some likeness of the person, are carried to Constantinople." [*Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, 1794 ed., i, 333.]

[139] Word missing from MS.

[140] Teonge has here left a whole page for a description, which he unfortunately omits.

[141] For an account of these early English games see Gomme, *Traditional Games*, i, pp. 21, 81.

[142] MS. cofer; a box or chest

[143] See note 122.

[144] MS. peteete.

[145] Sandys (G.), *Relation of a Journey begun* 1610. Published 1615.

[146] See note 119.

[147] MS. boarson's. It was the custom for slop clothes to be "sold always above decks, at the mainmast" in the presence of the whole ship's company. The same applied to the effects of a deceased seaman.

[148] The bo'sun's cane, or rattan, is almost as historic as his whistle. Ned Ward in his *Wooden World Dissected* (1707) gives us an amusing description of its virtues: "This little stick . . . seems little inferior to the rod of Moses. It has cured more of the scurvy than the doctor, and made many a poor cripple take up his bed and walk. Sometimes it makes the lame to skip, and run up the shrouds like a monkey; but, what's most wonderful, it makes heavy-ars'd fellows tumble up from below, contrary to the tendency of all heavy bodies, which tumble downward."

[149] MS. Sorya.

[150] Sandys, who travelled in 1610, writing upon the same subject and of the river Jordan which runs into the lake, says: "The river running a great way further with many windings as it were to delay his ill destiny, gliding through the plains of Jericho not far below where that city stood, it is at length devoured by that accursed lake Asphal-

tites, so named of the bitumen which it vomiteth ; called also the Dead Sea, perhaps in that it nourisheth no living creature, or for its heavy waters hardly to be moved by the winds. The whole country hath from hence its provision of salt ; seventy miles it is in length, and sixteen over, once a fruitful valley, compared for delight unto Paradise and called Pentapolis, of her five cities, destroyed with fire from heaven, and converted then into this filthy lake and barren desolation that environs it—a fearful monument of divine vengeance." [Lib. iii, p. 110.]

[151] MS. syndars.

[152] Dr Clarke in 1801 states that " the production called the apple of Sodom is the fruit of the ' Solanum Melongena ', which is produced in abundance near the Dead Sea : the inside of this fruit when attacked by an insect (*tenthredo*) turns to dust, but the skin remains entire, and of a beautiful colour ".

[153] Caius Julius Solinus ; his *Collectanea*, a short description of the ancient world, is the work referred to.

[154] MS. Bullen.

[155] MS. Petrosa.

[156] i.e. The *Koran*.

[157] Levet=a trumpet-call or musical strain. Florio calls it " the name of a march upon a drumme and trumpet in time of warre ".

[158] MS. Solloman. [159] For this custom see note 20. [160] See note 60.

[161] MS. collyflowers.

[162] For this ceremony see p. 17, and note 133.

[162*] Commodore. The earliest known reference to this naval rank. The earliest in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1695.

[163] MS. Maudlen-spike.

[164] On the night of January 14th, 1676, a very bold attack was made by Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral Sir) Cloudesley Shovel upon the shipping in the harbour ; and four vessels, being all that then lay there, were destroyed, without the loss of a single English life.

[165] i.e. the execution of Charles I.

[166] For the probable tune of " Well-a-day," see *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, p. 9.

[167] Sir John Berry. Entered Navy 1663 ; Captain, 1665 ; knighted for services at Solebay, 1672 ; Vice-Admiral against Tangier, 1683 ; died 1690. For an account of this officer see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, and for his various commands see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, p. 324, etc.

[168] John Harris, Lieutenant of the *Sweepstakes* yacht, and afterwards of the *St George* in 1673 ; Captain of the *Cutter* sloop, 1673. In 1675, Lieutenant of the *Guernsey*, and on the 31st of August following, Sir John Narbrough appointed him Captain of the *Emsworth*

sloop. Captain of the *Samson* fire-ship, 1688. [Charnock, i, 396; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 360.]

[169] Possibly Captain Thomas Harman of the *Sapphire*, who in December, 1675, was convoying the *Guinea* and other merchantmen to Turkey. [Navy Records Soc., xxxvi, 145.]

[170] See note 46.

[171] A piece-of-eight was worth about five shillings sterling. It is the 'hard dollar', the Spanish *piaster*, worth (before 1914) about the same as the American dollar, i.e. 4s. 2d.

[172] The "most welcome news" reached the Admiralty on 12th April, and Pepys described it as the "more satisfactory and honourable . . . ever yet obtained by any prince from any nation". [Navy Records Soc., vol. xxxvi, pp. xv–xvi.]

[173] Teonge gives the text of the "Articles of Peace and Commerce", pp. 285–91.

[174] It appears from the register of Christ's College, Cambridge, that Teonge was born in 1623. This would make him fifty-three: see Introduction, pp. 4 and 5.

[175] See note 119.

[176] A scarlet dye. The earliest reference in the *New English Dict.* is 1659.

[177] i.e. sponsor.

[178] MS. loareing.

[179] Saïque, a kind of Turkish ketch.

[180] MS. Jack-calls.

[181] Pillaw; rice sodden in the fat of mutton. [See G. Sandys' *Travels* (1673), p. 51.]

[182] See note 127.

[183] Joseph Reynardson; probably a son of Sir Abraham Reynardson. Entered as a 'pensioner' of Christ's College, 24th April, 1672, aged sixteen.

[184] Cricket is supposed to date from the end of Henry VIII's reign. Teonge's account is one of the earliest literary references to the game.

[185] An anglicized form of Avania. An impost or extortionate tax levied by the Turks. In its English form this is the earliest known reference.

[186] Francis, 2nd Viscount Carrington, born about 1621; died 1701.

[187] MS. Allforge. A very early reference to the word.

[188] The end of the menu is mutilated; apparently there were other dishes. In case the reader may think that Teonge has exaggerated the number, it is interesting to note that Dr Russell mentions that it was customary for twenty or thirty dishes to be placed on the table every day. Russell had a list of 141 dishes! [*Hist. of Aleppo*, i, 173.]

[189] Russell, in his *History of Aleppo*, calls him the " Mutsillem, or temporary governor ".

[190] A very early use of the word. The earliest instance in the *New Eng. Dict.* is 1656.

[191] Perhaps Captain Thomas Hussey, Adjutant of a Regiment of Foot sent to Tangier in 1680.

[192] Henry Maundrell, Chaplain to the Levant Company, who visited the Valley of Salt in 1697, states that it was about four hours' journey from Aleppo. " It is of an exact level, and appears at a distance like a lake of water. There is a kind of dry crust of salt all over the top of it, which sounds, when the horses go upon it, like frozen snow when it is walked upon. There are three or four small rivulets emptying themselves into this place, and wash it all over about autumn or when the rains fall. In the heat of the summer the water is dried off, and, when the sun has scorched the ground, there is found remaining the crust of salt aforesaid, which they gather and separate into heaps."

[193] There is no account or even notice of this institution in any of the books which treat of Aleppo or the adjacent country.

[194] MS. delaman ; a long vest with open sleeves, worn over the kunbaz or waistcoat, and reaching to the heels.

[195] MS. cursare.

[196] See note 179.

[197] Lord Finch returned from his embassy at Constantinople in 1669, but Sir John Finch was resident there as English Ambassador at the time Teonge was at Aleppo.

[198] This word has not been identified. It probably means with ' evidence ' or ' witnesses '.

[199] A Turkish coin : value two farthings or less.

[200] MS. chekeens. A gold coin worth from 7s. to 9s. 6d. in English money of the period.

[201] MS. Halep and Halepins.

[202] The roofs of all the houses are flat and plastered with a composition of mortar, tar, ashes, and sand (tarras). These flat roofs or terraces form a favourite promenade. [Russell, *Aleppo*, i, 35.]

[203] Teonge was misinformed. The origin of the name is obscure. Arabian writers affirm that the Patriarch Abraham, when on his way to Canaan, settled here for a time, and daily distributed milk to the poor of a neighbouring village. Hence *Ibrahim haleb* (Abraham has milked) gave occasion to the name Haleb. [Russell, *Aleppo*, i, 347.]

[204] MS. coopelows.

[205] MS. Telismani.

[206] MS. cereys.

[207] A blank in the MS. occurs here.

[208] Sandys mentions the extraordinary effect produced by these insects in a dark night. The first time he encountered them was in the valley near the base of Mount Carmel, toward which his party had directed their course, in order to avoid a party of the Saphies belonging to the army of Morad Bassa, which then infested the plains. He proceeds thus: "Having gained the foot of the mountain, we reposed for the remainder of the day; when it grew dark we arose, inclining on the left hand into the valley, and after awhile mingling with a small caravan of Moors, we were enjoined to silence, and to ride without our hats, lest we should be discovered for Christians. The clouds fell down in streams, and the pitchy night had bereft us of the conduct of our eyes had not the lightning afforded a terrible light; and when the rain intermitted, *the air appeared as if full of sparkles of fire, borne to and fro with the wind, by reason of the infinite swarms of flies that do shine like glow-worms*: to a stranger, a strange and curious spectacle."

[209] MS. brimson.

[210] MS. nautiouse.

[211] i.e. a clump of bushes.

[212] Cape St Andreas, the most E. point of Cyprus.

[213] Gulf of Salamis.

[214] Cape Kiti; the S.W. point of the Gulf of Larnaka.

[215] A wind of which advantage may be taken; that which is most favourable to the course when working to windward. [Smyth, *Sailors' Word Book*, p. 631.]

[216] MS. Argereenes.

[217] The westernmost of the Ægadian Isles, four miles in length.

[218] A skin disease: the itch or mange.

[219] One of the Tuscan Archipelago. Almost inaccessible granite rock.

[220] Elba; the ancient Ilva.

[221] Pianosa Island, so called from its low position.

[222] Capraja Island.

[223] Island near Leghorn.

[224] Wife of Sir Thomas Clutterbuck (knighted 4th August, 1669), Consul at Leghorn; appointed to furnish H.M.'s ships with supplies, 1669; victualling contractor for the Mediterranean, 1674–78: see James II, *Mems. rel. to conduct of the Navy*, pp. 176–8.

[225] MS. Gorgony, between Corsica and Leghorn.

[226] A small coasting vessel used in the Mediterranean, and having only one mast.

[227] Iles d'Hyères; South coast of France.

[228] MS. Marcelles.

[229] MS. Min-yorke.

[230] East wind, blowing up the Mediterranean.

[231] Teonge probably got his information from an anonymous book translated from the Spanish and entitled *A Description of Tangier, the Country and People*, 4to, London, 1664.

After some prefatory remarks to the second section, which comprises the natural history of the country, it proceeds thus :—

" 1. Here are placed the *Cynocephali*, that have heads like dogs, snouts like swine, and ears like horses.

" 2. Here are the *Sciapodes*, that have such a broad foot, and but one, that they cover their heads from the heat of the sun and the violence of the showers, by lifting this up over them.

" 3. Here are the *Gumnosophantes*, that go naked and fear nothing so much as a clothed man, being ignorant of the use of weapons, and one being able without a miracle to chase a thousand of them.

" 4. Here are the *Blemmiæ*, men that walk without heads, having their eyes and mouths in their breasts.

" 5. Here are the *Egipans*, that have only the bodies of men, sometimes made up of the necks and heads of horses, mules, asses, &c., and

" 6. That this part of Africa may have its share in the saying ' *Semper aliquid Africa portat nova*,' ' Africa is always teeming with some new monster,' the other day, not far from Tangier, was to be seen a child with an eagle's bill, claws and feathers, &c."

[232] Osorio da Fonseca (J.), *Hist. de rebus Emmanuelis, . . . et Orientis Indiam navigatione*, 1581.

[233] Maffei (Giovanni Pietro), *Hist. Indicarum*, 1588.

[234] MS. corke : i.e. to drive a quantity of oakum, or old rope, into the seams, which are afterwards covered with hot pitch.

[235] MS. Cales.

[236] MS. cubbs.

[237] Cross-jack-yard. In full-rigged ships the lowest yard on the mizzen-mast. Pronounced ' crojek ' or ' crotched '.

[238] MS. Snt Toobys. Setubal is twenty miles S.E. of Lisbon. Sometimes called by English sailors St Ubes, which accounts for Teonge's curious spelling.

[239] The historians of the period do not throw any light upon this behaviour of the Regency of Portugal towards the English ; unless, indeed, it arose from the disgust the Portuguese had very naturally conceived for the English nation altogether, on account of its treatment of the Queen of Charles II, the sister of their late sovereign.

[240] MS. corked.

[241] The approach to the English Channel, between Ushant and Scilly, where it is possible to touch bottom with the ordinary lead.

[242] MS. Syllæ.

[243] MS. Fayre Lee; near Hastings.

[244] Half-way between London and Gravesend, on the Essex shore.

[245] See note 90.

[246] On the 8th November, Pepys wrote to Captain Houlding to bring the *Assistance* up to Deptford, "as she cannot be repaired without a dock". [Navy Records Soc., xxxvi, 315.]

[247] Evidently the date when Teonge finished this part of his *Diary*, from the rough day-by-day copy.

NOTES TO SECOND VOYAGE

[1] For his first voyage Teonge received £57 for his "groats" and £18 7s. 9d. for his wages, less 19s. 3d. deducted for the Chatham Chest. [Pay-book of the *Assistance*, P.R.O.]

[2] First Lieutenant of the *Vanguard*, 1665; Captain of the *Vanguard*, 1666; in 1667 removed to the *Princess*, and subsequently to the *Royal Exchange*. In 1670, Captain of the *Newcastle*, and sent to the Mediterranean, and in September of the same year deputed as joint commissioner with Captain Helling, of the *Mary*, to negotiate a peace with the Regency of Algiers. For his orders while Captain of the *Newcastle*, see James II, *Mems. rel. to the conduct of the Navy*, pp. 220–22, 242. Captain Langston returned to Europe in 1671–2 and, the *Newcastle* being soon afterwards put out of commission, he had no other appointment till the month of March, 1678, when, being made Captain of the *Bristol*, he was again sent to the Mediterranean. On the 14th of January, 1679, he was promoted by Sir John Narbrough to the *Royal Oak*, into which ship he removed, according to the *Diary*, on the 16th, and in the command of which he died in Alicante Roads on the 19th of March following. [Charnock, i, 241; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 375.] Teonge, who appeared to be much attached to Captain Langston, has, on pages 246–7 given us the *Epitaph* which he composed for him.

[3] The *Bristol*, to which Captain Langston was appointed in March, had returned in the previous August from Virginia.

[4] A. Wood, in his *Diary*, first mentions a stage-coach under the year 1661, and six years afterwards he informs us he travelled to London from Oxford by such a conveyance. The journey occupied *two days!* A conveyance was afterwards invented, called the *Flying Coach*, which completed the journey between Oxford and London in thirteen successive hours, but it was soon found necessary to abandon it, at least during the winter months.

[5] Henry Compton, youngest son of the Earl of Northampton. Bishop of London, 1675–1713, in which year he died at Fulham, aged eighty-one. Just a year prior to this date (1678) the Lords of the Admiralty resolved that "no persons shall be entertained as Chaplains on board H.M.'s ships but such as shall be approved of by the Lord Bishop of London".

[6] MS. Fullum.

[7] Married by his father to Alice Wills, 10th April, 1683.

[8] The Marquis of Halifax, in his *Character of King Charles II*, notices the quick ſtep (or, as the Chaplain calls it, the " woonted large pace ") of the King.

[9] Philip, Earl of Pembroke, born 1653. Tried by his peers at Weſtminſter Hall, 4th April, 1678, for a murder committed during a drunken brawl. Died 1683.

[10] In Canon Row, Weſtminſter. It was used during part of Charles II's reign as the office of the Lord High Admiral.

[11] A small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop.

[12] The nation at this period seemed determined upon a rupture with France. On April 27th, the Admiralty ordered shipping for transporting 1400 men to Oſtend. [Navy Records Soc., lvii, p. 581.]

[13] MS. Sittenburg.

[14] Or Muſter Maſter. The names of the ship's company where called over from the Muſter Roll, and a hole pricked againſt absentees, and a Muſter Letter put againſt those present: See " Inſtructions for a Muſter Maſter " (1692) in *Mariner's Mirror*, xii, 207.

[15] William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, born 1640, ſtyled Lord O'Brien. Captain-General of the Forces at Tangier, 1674–80. Died 1692.

[16] John Willoughby, Captain, Lord O'Brien's Regiment of Foot, 1678. [Dalton, i, 217.]

[17] Thomas Salusbury. Lieut.-Colonel in Lord O'Brien's Regiment. [Dalton, i, 217.]

[18] William Taylor, ditto.

[19] MS. Bridges. Bruges in Flemish means Bridges. A name due to the numerous bridges crossing the canals. The modern Zeebrugge is the seaport of Bruges.

[20] This is a very early reference of the term privateer.

[21] In reference to Charles II's entry into London, 29th May, 1660.

[22] George Naylor, Captain in Sir Lionel Walden's Regiment of Foot, 1678. [Dalton, i, 216.]

[23] Bawdsey, situated on the coaſt of Suffolk, 8½ miles from Woodbridge. The church, whose lofty ſteeple was used as a landmark by mariners, was burnt down in 1841.

[24] On the coaſt of Suffolk. The keep of the Caſtle serves as a landmark to ships coming from Holland. On account of this the Government prevented its demolition in 1805.

[25] MS. Tyvitt.

[26] See p. 264, note 54.

[27] The *Ruby*, a 4th rate. Called the English *Ruby* to distinguish her from the French *Ruby*, a 2nd rate. [Navy Records Soc., lvii, 312.]

[28] Built at Deptford in 1667 to replace the ship carried off by the Dutch in their raid on Chatham in that year. Teonge calls her *Charles II.*

[29] Captain, Duke of Monmouth's Regiment of Horse, 1678; Lord Gerard's Regiment of Horse, 1679; Captain of a Troop of Horse sent to Tangier, 1680, where he was severely wounded; Captain, King's Own Royal Regiment of Dragoons, 1683–4. [Dalton, i, 203, *sqq.*]

[30] Sir Henry Goodricke, born 1642; M.P., 1673. Commanded a Regiment of Foot, which was disbanded in 1679; Envoy to Madrid, 28th November, 1678; died 1705.

[31] MS. Nathsland; a low promontory stretching into the sea, five miles S. of Harwich.

[32] Robert Fortescue, appointed Captain of the *Colchester* in the year 1661. In 1666 he served as Lieutenant of the *Greenwich*, and in the following year of the *Anne*. In 1672 he was Commander of the *Francis* fire-ship; in 1673, of the *Ann & Christopher;* and, lastly, on the 12th of April, 1678, he was appointed Captain of the *Asia*. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 351.]

[33] MS. Puett and Puetts. Pewit Island is four miles S.W. of Harwich.

[34] Built at Harwich in 1678.

[35] MS. Langer. 1½ miles S.E. of Harwich.

[36] John Rumsey, Lieut.-Colonel of Sir Henry Goodricke's Regiment [Dalton, i, 219.]

[37] William Norton. Captain, ditto.

[38] Philip, 2nd Viscount Strangford, born 1634; died 1708.

[39] See note 27 above.

[40] Commanded the *Paul*, of Lowestoft, 1665–6; *Bristol*, 1666; served under Sir E. Spragge against Algiers, 1670–1; knighted 1672; Commander, *Rupert*, 1672–3; died 1683. [For a detailed account of his various commands, see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 367.]

[41] For this song see p. 259, note 7.

[42] MS. Fayre Lee; near Hastings.

[43] Jears. Tackles by which the lower yards of a ship are hoisted or lowered.

[44] George Legge, born 1648. Captain R.N., 1667; Lieut.-Governor of Portsmouth, 1670–83; created Baron Dartmouth, 1682; engaged in Tangier expedition, 1683–4; Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, 1688–9. Died 1691.

[45] Sir Thomas Allin, born 1612; Captain, 1660; Commander-in-

Chief in Downs, 1663; fought against the Dutch, 1664–6; against Barbary pirates, 1668–70. Died 1685. [For his various commands, see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, p. 317.]

[46] Porchester, or more correctly Portchester Castle. The castle dates from the Roman occupation, and is probably the "*Portus Magnus*" of the Itineraries. The church is a Norman structure, and possibly occupies the site of a Roman building.

[47] Our author alludes to the storm of the 16th and 17th September, 1676, mentioned in pp. 189–190 of the *Diary*.

[48] Fain; in this sense meaning 'obliged' or 'forced'.

[49] MS. loare.

[50] MS. Pulleare. Lieutenant of the *Bull* in 1665. In 1672 he was promoted to the command of the *Little Francis*, a fire-ship. In the next year he was removed to the *Benjamin*, a vessel of the same description. On the 4th of February, 1677–8 he was appointed to the *Ann & Christopher*. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 394.]

[51] i.e. barricade. This is the earliest use of the word in connection with a ship that is known.

[52] A small flat-bottomed vessel, with a narrow stern.

[53] MS. bolt-splitt.

[54] Charles Mordaunt, born 1658, afterwards 3rd Earl of Peterborough. Sailed as a volunteer in the *Bristol*. Three weeks after this incident, at Cadiz, he transferred to the *Rupert*. Died 1735.

[55] Usually in reference to tapestry work or embroideries.

[56] See also p. 53.

[57] Haslett or harslett; a pig's chitterlings.

[58] Richard Dickenson. Second Lieutenant of the *Swiftsure* in 1665. On the 13th of June, 1667, promoted to the command of the *Joseph* fire-ship. In the following year he returned to his former rank, and was appointed to the *Rupert*. In 1671, made First Lieutenant of the *Dreadnought*, and in 1672 was once more appointed a First Lieutenant on board the *Royal Katherine*, and soon afterwards promoted to be second Captain of the *Royal Charles*. In September, 1674, Commander of the *Hunter;* on the 12th of April, 1678, of the *Woolwich;* and on the 17th of the same month in the year 1680, of the *Diamond*. He sailed for the Mediterranean soon afterwards, and in the year 1682, being still on that station, was removed into the *Tyger Prize*, a ship of forty guns, taken from the Algerines by the *Rupert*. Returning from the Straits, he was on the 23rd of March, 1684–5, made Commander of the *Oxford*. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 345.]

[59] Not traced; possibly Teonge has mistaken the Christian name.

[60] i.e. entrapped by a stratagem.

[61] MS. Iversy; one of the Balearic Islands.

[62] Cabrera Island.

[63] The capital and principal seaport of Minorca. One of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean.

[64] Lieutenant of the *Plymouth* in 1672, and afterwards of the *St David*. Promoted to the *Bristol*, 29th March, 1678. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 388.]

[65] Second Lieutenant, *Royal Oak*, 1678. Promoted to the *Bristol*, 9th January, 1679, by Sir J. Narbrough.

[66] Henry Killigrew. Lieutenant, 1666; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, 1689; Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, 1689–90. One of the three Joint Admirals, 1693. Died 1712. [For an account of this officer, see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 374.]

[67] Breaming; when a ship is brought aground or on the careen to be trimmed, when the weeds and other filth is burnt off.

[68] Captain of the *Martin*, 1660; *Charity*, 1661; *Advice*, 1663–5; *St George*, 1665; *Mary*, 1666; *Crown*, 1667; *Jersey*, 1669; *Plymouth*, 1672; *St David*, 1672; *Leopard*, 1676; *Happy Return*, 1678; *Samuel & Mary*, 1685. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 394.]

[69] Henry Fitzroy, 1st Duke of Grafton, born 1663. Distinguished himself in command of the *Grafton* at the Battle of Beachy Head, 1690.

[70] The anniversary of the execution of Charles I.

[71] Lieutenant, *Rainbow*, 1664; *Hampshire*, 1670; *Rupert*, 1671; Captain, *Dover*, 1672; *Revenge*, 1672; *Henry*, 1673; *Foresight*, 1674; *Woolwich*, 1677; *Defiance*, 1678. [Charnock, i, 331; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 348.]

[72] Sir John Narbrough's "Fighting Instructions", dated from the Island of Zante, 4th May, 1678, are printed in vol. 29 of the Navy Records Society's publications, pp. 164–7.

[73] Thomas Monck. Lieutenant, *Royal Oak*, 1678; *Mermaid*, 1679; *Centurion*, 1682; *Crown*, 1685. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 385.]

[74] MS. Firmiteare; one of the Balearic Islands.

[75] MS. bandeleares. Little wooden cases covered with leather. Each containing a charge of powder, fastened to a broad leather band, and worn round the neck.

[76] MS. duckcoy.

[77] Richard Carter. Appointed First Lieutenant of the *Cambridge* in 1672, and in the following year promoted to the command of the *Success*. Captain of the *Crown*, a 4th rate of forty-two guns, 1673; *Swan*, 1675; *Centurion*, 1677–8; *Defiance*, 1678; *Plymouth*, 1688. Died at Battle of La Hogue, 1692. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 332.]

[78] i.e. Bandits or outlaws.

[79] i.e. scratched.

[80] The language is Italian, but Teonge has evidently confused it. *Capriátto*, is a wild goat; *caprétto*, a kid.

[81] MS. Aligant.

[82] Meaning the 'Turks' or Barbary pirates.

[83] MS. Rumcoyle. Thomas Roome Coyle, Lieutenant of the *Bendish*, 1664, and in the following year promoted to the command of the same ship; removed into the *Guinea*, and in 1666 promoted to the *Dragon*. He was one of the seconds to Sir Thomas Allen at the time his squadron joined the Duke of Albemarle, and turned the scale of victory in his favour, after he had been severely pressed by the Dutch fleet during the two first days of the engagement of June, 1666. His gallant behaviour procured him the command of the *Montague*. In 1672 he was appointed to the *Ruby*. On the 17th of December, 1677, he was made Captain of the *Phœnix*. Removed to the *Royal Oak*, 1679. On the 29th of July, 1682, appointed to the *Spanish Merchant*, and on the 11th of June, 1685, promoted to the *Crown*, of which ship he continued Captain till the 14th of August, 1686. On the 25th of March, 1689, appointed to the *Nonsuch*, but did not long enjoy his new appointment, being killed off Guernsey on the 12th of May following, in an action with two French frigates. [Charnock, i, 175; Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 399.]

[84] Clowdisly Shovell. Born 1650; Commanded the *Edgar* at the Battle of Bantry Bay, 1689, and was knighted. Broke the French line at Barfleur, 1692; commanded Channel Fleet, 1696–7, 1699, 1701–3; Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, 1705; died 1707. [For an account of his services, see Navy Records Soc., xxvi, p. 405, etc.]

[85] William Blagge. Second Lieutenant, *Monmouth*, 1673; First Lieutenant, *Plymouth*, 1677; Captain, *Orange Tree* prize, 1677–8; Captain, *Sapphire* and *Phœnix*, 1679. [Navy Records Soc., xxvi, 326.]

[86] MS. Terriff. A Spanish fishing town at the entrance to the Straits.

[87] MS. Phinister. Prior to this date, and for many years afterwards, the British Seas, according to Admiralty instructions, extended to Cape Finisterre.

[88] The so-called "Popish Plot", fabricated by Titus Oates, broke out in 1678 during Teonge's absence.

[89] John Granville, Earl of Bath; born 1628; Governor of Plymouth, 1661–96. Died 1701.

[90] John Jones. [*Mariner's Mirror*, ii, p. 258.]

[91] For these deductions, see p. 25. For an article on "Early Ship Surgeons," see *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. ix, pp. 11–15.

[92] Thomas Clipsham, entered as "Minister's Servt" in both the *Bristol* and *Royal Oak*.

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES OF PEACE AND COMMERCE[1]

Betweene our Soveraine and mighty Prince CHARLES the IId, King of Greate Brittaine, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the Chriſtian Faith; and the Moſt Illuſtrious HALILL Bashaw, IBRAIM Dey, and AGA Divan, Governours of the noble cytty and kingdom of Tripolie in Barbary: Concluded betweene Sir JOHN NARBROUGH, Knight and Admirall of his Majeſty's fleete in the Mediterranean seas, 1675–[6].

1. Firſt it is concluded and agreed, that from this day and for ever, there be a true and firme and inviolable Peace betweene our Soveraine King Charles the IId King of England, &c.; and the moſt illuſtrious Lords, the Bashaw, Dey, Divan, Governers of the cytty and kingdom of Tripolie, in Barbary; and betweene the dominions and subjects of eyther syde. And that the subjects and ships or other vessells, and the people of boath syds, shall not hence forth doe to each other any harme, offence, or injury, ether in word or deede, but shall treate on another with all possible respect and friendship.

2. That any of the ships or other vessells belonging to the King of Great Brittaine, or to any of his Majeſty's subjects, may safly com to the place of Tripolie, or to any other port or place of that kingdome, or dominions there unto belonging, freely to buy or sell, without the leaſt diſturbance (paying the usuall cuſtom as in former times hath bin payd), for such goods as they sell; and for the goods they sell not, they shall have free liberty to carry on board their owne ships againe, without paying any duty for the said goods. And when they please

[1] From Teonge's manuscript; inserted at the end of his first voyage. For another text of this treaty, see Chalmers, *Collection of Treaties* (1790), ii, 411–21.

they shall freely depart from thence, without any ſtop, hinderance, or moleſtacion whatsoever.

3. That all ships and other vessells, as well those belonging to the King of England, or to any of his subjects, as also those belonging to the people or kingdom of Trypolie, shall freely passe the seas, and traffick where they please, without any search, hinderance, or moleſtacion from each other. And that all persons and passengers of what country soever; and all monys, goods, merchandizes, and moveables, to whatsoever place or nation belonging, being on board of any of the said ships or vessells, shall be wholly free, and shall not be ſtopped, taken, or plundered, or receive any harme or damage whatsoever from eyther party.

4. That the Trypolie ships of warr, or other vessells therunto belonging, meeting with any merchant ships or any other vessells belonging to the King of Great Brittain's subjects, not being on any of the seas of his Majeſty's dominions, may send on board on single boate, with two sitters besyds the ordinary crue of rowers; and no more but the two sitters only to enter any of the said merchant ships or other vessells, without expresse leave of every commander of such ships or vessells; and then upon produceing unto them a passe under the hand and seale of the said High Admirall of England, the said boate shall presently depart, and the merchant ships or vessells proceede freely on her or their voyage. And though the commandor or commaundors of the said shipps or other vessells produce no passe under the hand and seale of the Lord High Admirall of England, yet if the major part of the vessells company be subjects to the said King of England, the said boate shall presently depart, and the vessell or vessells shall proceede freely on their voyage. And if any of the ships of warr or other vessells of his said Majeſty, meeting with any ship or ships, or any other vessell or vessells belonging to Trypolie, if the commaundor there of shall produce a passe signed by the chiefe governours of Trypolie, and a certificate from the English Consull then liveing there; or if they have no such passe or certificate, if the major part of the company be Turks, Moores, or slaves belonging to Trypolie, the said ship or vessell shall proceede freely on their voyage without any moleſtacion.

5. That no commander or other person, or any ship or vessell of Trypolie, shall take out of any ship of his said Majesty any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence; nor shall use any tortures of violence to any person of what quality or nation soever, being on board any of his Majesty's ships or vessells, or of any of his subjects' ships or vessells, upon any pretence whatsover.

6. That no shipwrak of any vessell belonging to the King of Greate Brittaine, or to any of his subjects, upon any part of the coasts of Trypolie, shall be made or becom prize; and neyther the goods thereof shall be seased, nor any of the men made slaves; but that all the subjects of Trypolie shall doe their best indeavours to save the said men and their goods.

7. That no ship or other vessell of Trypolie shall have permission to be delivered up, or to goe to any other place in enmity with the said King of Great Brittaine, to be made use of as corsairs or sea-roavers against his Majesty or subjects.

8. That non of the ships or other vessells of Trypolie shall remain crusing neare his Majesty's cytty and garison of Tangeare, or in sight of it, nor any way disturb the peace or commearce of that place.

9. That if any ships or vessell belonging to Tunis, Argeare, Titiwan, Sally, or any other place being in warr with the King of Great Brittan, shall bring any ship or vessells, men or goods, belonging to his said Majesty or any of his subjects to Trypolie, or to any part or place in that kingdom, the Governors there shall not permitt any of these to be sould within the teritoris of Trypoly.

10. That if any of the ships of warr of the said King of Great Brittain shall com to Trypolie, or to any other place or part of that kingdom, with any prize, they may freely sell it, or dispose of it at their pleasure, without being molested by any. And that his Majesty's ships of warr shall not be obleedged to pay custom in any part of that kingdom. And that if they shall want provision, victualls, or any other things, they may freely buy them at the rates of marketts.

11. That if any of his Majesty's ships of warr shall appeare before Trypolie, upon notice thereof given to the English Consull, or by the Commander of the said ship to the Chiefe

Governor of Trypoly, publick proclamation immediatly be made to secure the Chriſtian Captives; and if after that any Chriſtians whatsoever make their escape on board any of the said ships of warr, they shall not be requyred back againe; nor shall the said Consull or Commander, or any other, pay any thing for the said Chriſtians.

12. That if any subject of the King of Greate Brittaine dye in Trypolie, or any of its teritorys, his goods and monys shall not be seazed by the Governors, or any Miniſters of Trypolie, but shall remaine in the hands of the English Consull.

13. That neyther the English Consull, nor any other subject of the said King of Great Brittaine shall be bound to pay the debts of any other of his Majeſty's subjects; except they becom security for the same by a publick act.

14. That the subjects of his Majeſty in Tripolie and its teritorys in matters of controversy shall be lyable to no other jurisdiction then that of the Dey or Divan; except it happen that there is difference betweene them: in which case they shall be liable to no other determination but that of the Consull only.

15. That in case any subject of his said Majeſty, being in any part of the kingdom of Trypolie, shall happen to ſtrike, wound, or kill on Turke or Moore; if he be taken, he is to be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity, then a Turke ought to bee, being guilty of the same offence. But if he make his escape, neyther the English Consull, nor any other of his Majeſty's subjects shall in any sort be queſtioned therefore.

16. That the English Consull, now or any time hereafter liveing in Trypolie, shall be there at all times with intyre freedom and safty of his person and eſtate; and shall be permitted to choose his owne druggarman and broaker, and freely to goe on board any ship in the roade, as often and when he pleaseth; and to have the liberty of the country; and that he shall be alowed a place to pray in; and that no man shall injure him in word or deede.

17. That not only the continuance of this peace and friendship, but likwise if any breach or warr happen to be herafter between the said King of Greate Brittaine, and the cytty or

kingdom of Trypolie; that then the said Consull and all others his said Majesty's subjects inhabiting in the kingdom of Trypolie shall allways and at all times of peace and warr, have full and absolute liberty to depart, and goe to their owne, or any other country, upon any ship or vessell of any nation whatsoever they shall think fitt; and carry with them all their estates, goods, famely, and servants, allthough borne in the country, without interruption or hindrance.

18. That no subject of his Majesty, being a passenger from or to any port, shall be any ways molested or medled with, although he bee on board any ship or vessell in enmity with Trypolie.

19. That wheras a warr hath lately happened betweene the most Soveraine King of Great Brittaine, and the most Illustrious Lords Halill, Bashaw; Ibraim, Dey; Aga, Divan, and Governors of the noble cytty and kingdom of Trypolie, in Barbary; by reason of injurys done to the said King of Great Brittaine and his subjects, by the people of Trypolie, contrary to the articles of peace: wee Halill, Bashaw; Ibraim, Dey; Aga, Divan, and Governors of the cytty and kingdom of Trypolie, in Barbary, doe acknowledge the injurys; and that the breach of peace betweene us was made by our subjects, for which som are banished, and som are fled from our justice. And for farther satisfaction to his most excellent Majesty, wee are sorry for the breach of articles, and doe by these presents ingage to set at liberty and deliver to the Right Honourable Sir John Narbrough all the English captives resyding in the cytty and kingdom of Trypolie and the dominions therof, with out paying any ransom for them; and by paying eighty thousand dollars in monys, goods, and slaves, to the said Sir John Narbrough. And for the future wee doe engage for our selves and successors, that if any injurys be done by any of the people of the kingdom of Trypolie to any of the King of Great Brittain's subjects, so that a warr be made betweene them, wee doe engage ourselves and successors to make satisfaction not only for the wronge done, but also for all the charges of that warr to the King of Greate Brittaine.

20. That no subject of his Majesty aforesaid shall be permitted to turne Turke or More, in the kingdom of Trypolie,

except he voluntarily appears before the Dey or Governor 3 tim[e]s in 24 houres with the English Consull or Druggar man, and every time declare his resolution to turne More or Turke.

21. That at all times when a ship of warr carrying his Majesty's flagg at the main top mast, shall appear, and com to an anchor in the roade of Trypolie, immediatly after notice given to the Governor of Trypolie by the Consull, or Governor of the said ship, in honour to his Majesty the Trypoleens shall cause a salute of 21 peices of cannon from their castell or forts; and that ship shall returne as many.

22. That presently after the signing and sealing of the present articles, wee Halill, Ibraim, Aga, Governors of the cytty and kingdom of Trypolie, doe declare, that all injurys on boath syds set asyd, that this peace shall be in full force and virtue, and continue. And that for all depredacions that shall be committed by the aforesaid before notice of the peace can be given, full satisfaction shall be made immediatly, and what remains in kind shall immediatly be restored.

23. That whensoever it shall happen that any thing is done or committed by the ships or subjects of eyther syd, contrary to any of these articles of peace, satisfaction being demanded, shall forthwith be made. And that it shall not be lawfull to breake this peace till full satisfaction be denyd; and our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word. And whosoever shall be the cause of breaking of this peace, shall be punished with death.

Confirmed and sealed in the presence of the Almighty God, the first day of March, ould stile, A.D., 1675; and the last day of the Moone Zechedya, and in the yeare of the Hegira On Thousand Eighty Six.

For the reasons which occasioned the following additional Articles of Peace,[1] see page 301.

Whereas there were Articles of peace and commerce made and confirmed, signed and sealed, in the presence of Almighty God, and betweene the King of Great Brittaine, &c. and the Governors of the cytty and kingdom of Trypoly in Barbary, &c. and since that time the Lord Ibraim, Dey, is fled from the said cytty and kingdom.

[1] Also from Teonge's *Diary*.

Now therfore, wee Halill Bashaw; Aga Divan; with the souldyers and people of Trypoly, &c. have chosen and elected Vice-Admirall Mustapha Grande, to be Dey of the said cytty and kingdom, to succeed Ibraim, Dey, in the aforesaid Government. And now wee, the sayd Governors, soldyers, and people of Trypoly aforsaid, doe consent unto and approve of every of the said articles, and of every part of them. And wee and every on of us doe now, by these presents, consent and agree to and with Sir John Narbrough aforesaid, for the true and exact keeping and performinge all the said articles; and doe accept, approve, ratify, and confirme all and every of them, in the same manner and forme as they are inserted and reported in the sayd preceding articles: hereby engageing our selves and successors, and assureing on our faith, sacredly to maintaine and strictly to observe, performe, and keepe inviolably, all and every of the aforesaid articles of peace, and commerce, and agreement, even for ever. And will cause and require all our subjects and people, of what degree soever, boath by sea and land, punctually and duely to observe and keepe inviolable every part of them; and our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word.

And whosoever shall at any time breake any or any part of the aforesaid articles, shall assuredly be punished sevearely, and his head shall be cutt off, and immediatly delivered to any of his Majesty's officers that shall make demaund therof.

Tis farther agreed, that any of the King of Great Brittain's subjects trading to any port of this kingdom of Trypoly, in any vessell whatsoever, shall not pay so much custom by on per cent for whatsoever they sell or buy, as other nations doe for the like merchandize.

And also that the English Consull here shall have free liberty to hoyst the English flagg at his pleasure on his house-top; and also to carry the said flagg in his boate on the water when he pleaseth.

These, and all other the preceeding Articles between the partys aforesaid, are to remaine firme and without alteration for ever. Which the Grand Senior also confirmed and sealed in the presence of Almighty God, at our castell, in the noble cytty and kingdom of Trypoly, May the first, olde stile, 1676, being the 26 day of the moone Zaphire, and the yeare of Hegira, 1087.

APPENDIX II. List of the Royal Navy, from Teonge's Diary

First Rate	Dimensions					Warr				Peace		Nature of Gunns						Built		
						At Home		Abroad												
Ships' Names	Feete in Length	Breadth	Depth	Draught of Water	Tunnes	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Canon of 7	Dem. Canon	24 Pounders	Wh. Culverin	De. Culverin	Saker of 3 pound	When	Where	By whom
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.								W.	W.	W.	W.	W.	W.			
R. Soveraigne .	137 0	47 6	19 0	23 0	1545	815	100	710	90	605	90	26	—	28	—	28	14 4	1637	Woolwich.	Capt Pett, sen.
R. Charles .	136 0	45 4½	18 6	20 8	1441	780	100	670	90	560	90	26	—	—	28	28	14 4	1675	Portsmouth.	Mr Deane.
R. James . .	136 0	45 4½	18 6	20 8	1441	780	100	670	90	560	90	26	—	—	28	28	14 4	1675	Portsmouth.	Mr Deane.
R. Prince . .	131 0	44 10	19 0	22 0	1400	780	100	690	90	560	90	26	—	—	28	28	14 4	1670	Chatham.	Mr Pett.
London . .	129 0	43 9	19 0	21 0	1328	730	96	620	86	510	86	26	—	—	28	26	12 4	1670	Depthford.	Mr Sish.
St. Andrew .	129 0	43 6	18 8	21 0	1313	730	96	620	86	510	86	26	—	—	28	26	12 4	1670	Woolwich.	Ch. Pett.
Charles 2d. .	128 0	42 6	18 6	21 0	1257	710	96	605	86	500	86	26	—	—	28	26	12 4	1668	Depthford.	Mr Sish.
St. Michaell .	122 6	40 0	17 5	20 0	1107	600	90	500	80	430	80	—	26	—	26	26	10 2	1669	Portsmouth.	Com. Ships.

Second Rate	Dimensions					Warr				Peace		Nature of Gunns					Built		
						At Home		Abroad											
Ships' Names	Feete in Length	Breadth	Depth	Draught of Water	Tunnes	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	D. Cannon	Culverin	De. Culverin	Saker	Lite Saker	When	Where	By whom
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.								W.	W.	W.	W.	W			
R. Katherine. .	120 0	40 0	17 4	20 8	1050	540	84	450	74	360	74	26	26	—	24	8	1674	Woolwich.	Mr Pett.
Victory . . .	114 0	42 0	17 6	20 10	1029	530	82	440	72	350	72	24	26	—	24	8	1665	Chatham.	Mr Pett, reb.
Henry . . .	120 0	38 0	15 9	20 8	1020	580	82	440	72	350	72	24	26	—	24	8	1656	Depthford.	Mr Callis.
Fr. Ruby . .	112 0	37 10	16 6	17 10	968	520	80	435	72	350	72	24	24	—	24	8	1666	A Prize from the French.	
St George . .	117 0	38 9	16 6	18 6	900	460	70	385	62	310	62	22	22	—	20	6	1622	Depthford.	Mr Burrell.
Tryumph . .	117 0	38 0	15 0	18 0	898	460	70	385	62	310	62	22	22	—	20	6	1623	Depthford.	Mr Burrell.
Rainebowe . .	114 0	36 6	15 0	17 6	817	410	64	335	54	270	54	22	—	22	14	6	1617	Depthford.	Mr Knight.
Unicorne . . .	110 0	35 8	16 0	17 6	845	410	64	335	54	270	54	22	—	22	14	6	1633	Woolwich.	Mr Boate.

Third Rate	Dimensions					Warr				Peace		Nature of Gunns							Built		
						At Home		Abroad													
Ships' Name	Length	Breadth	Depth	Draught of Water	Tunnes	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	D. Cannon	24 Pounders	Culverin	D. Culverin	12 Pounders	Lite Saker	3 Pounders	When	Where	By whom
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.								W.	W.	W.	W.	W.					
Olde James	116 0	39 0	16 0	18 6	848	460	70	380	62	300	62	26	—	—	—	26	14	4	1633	Depthford.	Mr Pett, sen.
R. Oake	127 0	40 6	18 3	18 8	1107	470	74	390	64	310	64	28	—	28	—	—	16	2	1674	Depthford.	Mr Jo. Sish.
Edgar	124 0	39 10	16 0	18 4	998	445	72	370	62	290	62	26	—	—	—	26	16	4	1668	Bristoll.	Mr Bayly.
Harwich	123 8	38 10	15 6	17 0	987	420	70	345	60	270	60	24	—	—	—	24	18	4	1674	Harwich.	Mr Deane.
Swiftsure	—	—	—	—	978	420	70	345	60	270	60	24	—	—	—	24	18	4	1673	Harwich.	Mr Deane.
Cambridge	121 0	37 0	16 4	17 6	941	420	70	345	60	270	60	26	—	—	—	26	16	4	1666	Depthford.	Mr Jo. Sish.
Warspite	117 0	38 0	15 4	17 9	892	420	70	345	60	270	60	26	—	—	—	26	16	2	1666	Blackwall.	Mr Johnson.
Resolution	120 6	37 6	15 9	16 9	885	420	70	345	60	270	60	26	—	—	—	26	16	2	1667	Harwich.	Mr Deane.
Monmouth	119 0	36 0	15 6	18 0	880	400	66	320	58	255	58	—	26	—	—	24	14	2	1666	Chatham.	Phi. Pett.
Rupert	119 0	36 0	15 6	17 1	813	400	66	320	58	255	58	—	26	—	—	24	14	2	1665	Harwich.	Mr Deane.
Defiance	117 0	37 3	15 3	16 6	902	400	64	320	56	255	56	24	—	—	—	24	14	2	1675	Chatham.	Mr Pett.
Mary	116 0	34 8	14 6	17 6	795	365	64	280	54	215	54	24	26	12	—	2			1649	Woolwich.	Mr C. Pett.
Mountague	117 0	35 2	15 0	17 9	809	355	62	280	54	215	54	24	24	12	—	2			1654	Portsmouth.	Mr Tippetts.
Henrietta	116 0	35 7	14 4	17 6	763	355	62	280	54	215	54	24	24	12	—	2			1654	Horslidowne.	Mr Bright.
Revenge	117 6	35 0	14 5	17 6	762	355	62	280	54	215	54	24	24	12	—	2			1654	Lymehouse.	Mr Graves.
Dreadnought	116 8	34 6	14 2	17 0	735	355	62	280	54	215	54	24	24	12	—	2			1654	Blackwall.	Mr Johnson.
Glocester	117 0	34 10	14 6	18 0	760	340	60	270	52	210	52	24	24	10	—	2			1654	Limehouse.	Mr Graves.
Plymmouth	116 0	34 8	14 6	17 6	752	340	60	270	52	210	52	24	24	10	—	2			1654	Wappin.	Capt Tayler.
Yorke	116 0	34 6	14 2	17 6	734	340	60	270	52	210	52	—	24	—	24		10	2	1654	Blackwall.	Mr Johnson.
Lion	112 0	35 0	15 6	17 0	727	340	60	270	52	210	52	—	24	—	24		10	2	1640	Chatham.	Mr Aplin & Capt Tayler.
Dunkyrk	112 0	32 6	14 0	16 6	704	340	60	270	52	210	52	—	24	—	24		10	2	1651	Woolwich.	Mr Burrell.
Monke	107 0	34 0	14 6	17 6	696	340	60	270	52	210	52	—	24	—	24		10	2	1650	Portsmouth.	Mr Tippetts.

Fourth Rate	Dimensions					Warr				Peace		Nature of Gunns				Built		
						At Home		Abroad										
Names of Ships	Length	Breadth	Depth	Draught of Water	Tunnes	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	24 Pounders	Culverin	Saker	Lit. Saker	When	Where	By whom
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.								W.	W.	W.	W.			
Woolwich	110 0	35 6	15 2	16 4	716	280	54	240	46	184	46	22		22	10	1675	Woolwich.	Mr Phi. Pett.
Oxford	109 0	34 0	15 6	17 8	677	280	54	240	46	184	46	24		22	8	1674	Bristoll.	Mr Bayly.
Leopard	109 0	33 9	15 0	17 0	676	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1658	Depthford.	Mr Sish.
Greenwich	110 0	33 6	14 6	17 0	659	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1666	Woolwich.	Mr C. Pett.
St David	110 0	33 6	14 6	17 0	659	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1666	Forest.	Mr Fursar.
Yarmouth	106 0	32 9	13 3	17 9	626	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1653	Yarmouth.	Mr Edgar.
Newcastle	110 0	31 1	13 4	15 0	625	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1654	Ratcliff.	Mr Phi. Pett.
Happy Return	104 0	33 2	13 2	18 0	623	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1654	Yarmouth.	Mr Edgar.
Princesse	105 0	31 6	13 4	17 0	620	280	54	240	46	185	46	24		22	8	1661	Forest.	Mr Fursar.
Portland	105 0	30 11	13 4	15 0	588	240	50	210	44	155	44		22	22	6	1649	Wappin.	Capt Tayler.
Antelope	101 0	30 0	12 6	16 0	576	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1654	Woodbridge.	Mr Carew.
Swallow	100 0	31 10	12 11½	14 1	559	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1653	Pitehouse.	Mr Tho. Taylor.
Gersey	101 10	32 2	13 3	14 0	558	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1654	Malden.	Mr Stanlin.
Assistance	102 0	31 0	12 4	15 0	555	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1650	Depthford.	Mr Johnson.
Mary Rose	100 0	31 8	13 0	15 0	555	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1644	Woodbridge.	Mr Munday.
Diamond	105 0	31 3	12 7	16 0	550	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1651	Depthford.	Mr Pett, sen.
Staffaren					548	280	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6		Dutch Prize.	
Bristoll	104 0	31 8	13 0	15 6	547	230	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1653	Portsmouth.	Mr Tippetts.
Advice	100 0	31 2	12 4	16 0	545	130	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1650	Froodb.	Capt Pett.
Dover	104 0	31 8	12 8	17 0	544	130	48	200	42	150	42		22	20	6	1654	Shoram.	Mr Castle.

Fourth Rate	Dimensions					Warr				Peace		Nature of Gunns			Built		
						At Home		Abroad									
Names of Ships	Length	Breadth	Depth	Draught	Tunnes	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Culverin	Saker	Lite Saker	When	Where	By whom
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.								W.	W.				
Reserve	100 0	31 1	12 8	16 0	538	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6		These columns cannot be filled up, a leaf of the orginal MS. having been lost.	
Foresight	102 0	31 0	12 9	14 6	538	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6			
Ruby	105 0	31 6	12 9	16 0	531	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6			
Centurion	104 0	31 0	12 6	16 6	532	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6			
Crowne	104 0	31 0	12 6	16 6	532	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6			
Bonadventure	100 0	29 0	12 8	15 0	510	230	48	200	42	150	42	22	20	6			
Kingsfisher	110 0	33 8	13 0	13 0	664	220	46	185	40	140	40	22	20	6			
Hampshyre	101 0	29 9	12 8	14 10	470	220	46	185	40	140	40	22	20	4			
Portsmouth	99 0	28 4	12 8	15 0	468	220	46	185	40	140	40	22	20	4			
Dragon	96 0	28 6	12 6	15 0	479	220	46	185	40	140	40	22	20	4			
Tygar	99 0	29 4	12 0	14 9	457	190	44	160	38	120	38		18	4			
Adventure	94 0	27 9	11 4	13 9	432	190	44	160	38	120	38		18	4			
Sweepstakes	86 0	28 0	10 9	12 6	376	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Const. Warwick	85 0	26 0	11 2	12 0	374	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Assurance	87 0	27 0	11 0	12 6	372	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Phœnix					368	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Falcon	89 0	27 6	11 0	13 0	367	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Nonsuch	88 3	27 8	12 10	12 8	345	180	42	150	36	115	36		18	4			
Charles Gally					526	220	32	220	32	220	32		26				
James Gally					433	200	30	200	30	200	30		26				

APPENDIX III

List of the Royal Navy as delivered by Pepys to the House of Commons, 1675

From *Harleian MSS*, 6277, *ff* 7-10

APRIL 24, 1675. In ye House of Com'ons

A List of all His Maties Ships & Vessels. Expressing ye respective Rates and Qualities, wth their severall Ages, Burthens, Numbers of Men, & Guns.

Ships	Built in the Year	Tuns	Men	Guns
First Rate				
Soveraigne	1637	1556	850	100
St. Andrew	1670	1338	750	100
Charles	1667	1258	750	100
Royall Charles	1673	1416	800	102
London	1670	1328	750	96
St Michael	1669	1102	550	98
Prince	1670	1382	800	100
Royall James	1675	1420	800	100
Second Rate				
St George	1622	891	460	68
Henry	1656	1082	540	78
Old James	1633	906	500	75
Rainbowe	1617	866	410	56
Triumph	1623	891	500	70
Victory	1665	1038	530	84
Unicorne	1633	633	420	68
French Ruby	1666	868	460	80
Royall Katherine	1664	1004	530	100
Third Rate				
Dreadnought	165$\frac{3}{4}$	739	360	64
Dunkirk	1651	662	340	64
Gloucester	165$\frac{3}{4}$	755	340	60
Henrietta	165$\frac{3}{4}$	781	340	60
Lion	1640	417	340	60
Mary	1649	778	360	60
Monke	1659	678	340	58
Mountaine	1654	770	360	56
Plymouth	1653	740	340	58
Revenge	1654	767	360	60
Yorke	1654	754	340	62
Rotterdam	1673	950	460	60
Cambridge	1666	937	400	70
Edgar	1668	994	400	74
Harwich	1674	989	400	66
Monmouth	166$\frac{8}{7}$	859	400	72
Royall Oake	1674	1107	500	70
Resolution	1667	885	400	68
Rupert	166$\frac{8}{8}$	827	400	64
Swiftsure	1673	978	400	66
Warr Spight	1666	905	400	68
Defiance	1675	864	400	60
Fourth Rate				
Adventure	1646	393	170	40
Advise	1650	545	220	50
Andelope	1653	516	220	46
Assistance	1650	521	220	50
Assurance	1646	345	170	42
Bonadventure	1663	505	220	52
Bristoll	1653	532	220	48
Centurion	1650	532	220	50
Const. Warwick	1655	306	170	42

APPENDIX III

Ships	Built in the Year	Tuns	Men	Guns
Crowne	1653/4	562	200	50
Diamond	1651	548	220	48
Dover	1654	533	200	54
Dragon	1647	470	200	44
Foresight	1650	521	220	52
Hamshire	1653	479	200	46
Happy Return	1654	609	240	48
Jersey	1654	556	220	48
Leopard	1658	657	280	56
Mary Rose	1653/4	556	220	56
New Castle	1653	626	240	52
Portland	1652	608	240	50
Portsmouth	1649	463	200	48
Princess	1660	602	240	54
Reserve	1650	533	220	48
Ruby	1651	557	220	48
Swallow	1653	549	220	50
Tyger	1647	443	180	46
Yarmouth	1653	608	240	54
St David	1664/5	639	260	56
Faulcon	1666	530	170	40
Greenwich	1666	666	280	60
Nonsuch	1668	354	170	40
Oxford	1674	670	260	54
Stavooreen	1672	500	200	50
Sweepstakes	1666	376	170	40
Woolwich	1675	750	300	54
Kingfisher	1675	662	220	50
Fifth Rate				
Eagle	1654	296	150	34
Guarland	1654	266	150	34
Guernsey	1654	259	150	32
Mermaid	1651	286	140	30
Norwich	1655	257	160	30
Pearle	1651	286	150	28
Richmond	1655	238	130	28
Speedwell	1656	238	140	30
Success	1657	294	155	30
Holmes	1657	180	110	24
Hunter	1657	300	130	30
Swanne	1673	340	150	32
Rose	1674	240	100	28
Phenix	1671	345	170	40
Saphire	1675	365	170	30
Sixth Rate				
Drake	1652	146	70	14
Francis	1666	141	80	20
Greyhound	1672	184	80	14
Roebuck	1666	134	80	18
Young Sprag	1673	90	45	8
Fan Fan	1665	35	30	4
Larke	1675	194	90	18
Swadadoes	1670	182	80	16
Doggers				
Dover	1673	75	36	8
Fire-ships				
Ann & Christopher	1671	240	45	8
Wevenhoe	1668/9	83	20	6
Gallyes				
Margaret	1673	260	460	5
Hoyes				
Harwich	1660	52	4	0
Lighter at Portsmouth	1662	100	5	0
Mary Gould	1653	42	4	0
Unity, Horse boat	1651	40	4	0
Hulkes				
Eagle	1653	896	6	0
Elias	1653	400	2	0
Violet	1653	400	1	0
Alphen	1673	716	4	0
Europa	1673	406	18	0
Slothany	1665	772	8	0
Stathouse	1667	440	4	0
Armes of Horn	1673	600	6	0
Ketches				
Deptford	1665	109	50	12
Quaker	1671	85	45	8
Smacks				
Bridgett	1672	4	2	0
Sea Venture	1660	30	3	0
Sheernes	1672	12	2	0
Little London	1672	6	2	0
Shish	1672	5	2	0
Sloopes				
Bonetta	1673	57	36	6
Chatham	1673	49	36	4
Dove	1672	20	30	4
Emsworth	1667	39	30	6
Hound	1673	46	36	4
Hunter	1673	45	36	4

APPENDIX III

Ships	Built in the Year	Tuns	Men	Guns
Invention . .	1673	28	30	4
Prevention . .	1672	46	36	4
Spye	1666	28	30	4
Vulture . . .	1673	62	36	4
Whipstr. Brignt.	1672	25	30	0
Woolwich . .	1673	57	36	6
YATCHTS				
Anne	1661	100	30	8
Bezan . . .	1661	35	6	4
Cleaveland . .	1671	107	30	8
Deale . . .	1673	24	6	2
James	1662	26	3	0
Isle of Wight. .	1673	31	4	4
Katherine . .	1674	131	30	10
Kitchin . . .	1670	100	30	6
Merlin . . .	1666	109	30	8
Monmouth . .	1666	103	30	10
Navy	1673	74	25	8
Portsmouth . .	1674	133	20	10
Quinburrow . .	1671	27	2	2
Richmond . .	1672	64	20	8

An Abstract of the preceding List of Ships and Vessells

Ships and Vessells	Num. of Ships	Tuns	Men	Guns
First Rate .	8	10800	6050	796
Second Rate	9	8179	4350	679
Third Rate .	22	18145	8380	1400
Fourth Rate	37	19822	8060	1816
Fifth Rate .	15	4190	2155	460
Sixth Rate .	8	1106	555	112
	99	62242	29550	5263
Doggers . .	1	75	36	8
Fire-ships .	2	323	65	14
Gallyes . .	1	260	460	5
Hoyes . .	4	234	17	0
Hulkes . .	8	4630	49	0
Ketches . .	2	194	95	20
Smackes . .	5	57	11	0
Sloopes . .	12	502	402	50
Yachts . .	14	1064	266	88
	49	7339	1401	185

The proportion of Tuns, Men and Guns of the Ships of each Rate, one with the other

Ships	Tuns	Men	Guns
First Rates .	1350	$756\frac{2}{8}$	$99\frac{4}{8}$
Second Rates	$908\frac{7}{9}$	$483\frac{3}{9}$	$75\frac{6}{9}$
Third Rates	$824\frac{17}{22}$	$380\frac{20}{22}$	$63\frac{14}{22}$
Fourth Rates	$535\frac{2}{37}$	$217\frac{31}{37}$	$49\frac{8}{37}$
Fifth Rates.	$279\frac{5}{15}$	$143\frac{10}{15}$	$30\frac{10}{15}$
Sixth Rates.	$138\frac{2}{8}$	$69\frac{2}{8}$	14

APPENDIX IV

Sir John Narbrough's Expedition to Tripoli

One of the fullest accounts of Sir John Narbrough's expedition is given in Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, 1794, Vol I, pp. 247–250. It is here reprinted.

On the 18th of October, 1674, he [Sir J. Narbrough] was appointed commander in chief of a squadron sent to the Mediterranean for the purpose of overawing the Tripolines and other piratical States, who began afresh about this time, to commit depredations, and disturb our commerce. He had, as was customary, at this time, the privilege allowed him of wearing the Union Flag at his main-top-mast head, still continuing on board the *Henrietta*. In the month of April, 1675, his complaints to the Tripoline Government commenced; these not being redressed, he proceeded, according to his instructions, to block up the port. On the 10th of July following, he had the good fortune to drive on shore and burn one of their capital ships, which had been their rear-admiral, and carried thirty guns. In the course of a few days he destroyed two or three other vessels of inferior note. On the 31st of August the attack of a Saitee, which was working into Tripoli, brought on an action, equal in point of spirit to one which, from its consequence, might have more attracted the notice of the world. The frigates stationed immediately off the port not being able to get up with her, Sir John manned the boats of the squadron, and got under way with his larger ships in support of them. The boats succeeded in driving the Saittee on shore, and came to anchor near her, in order to prevent the enemy from getting her off next morning. The Tripolines, in order to counteract their attack, manned three galleys and a brigantine, which were at that time in the harbour. On the approach of these vessels the boats were obliged to retire on

board the frigates.[1] In the morning the galleys and brigantine were discovered towing the Saitee towards Tripoli. Sir John Narborough weighed anchor, and ſtanding in shore with the reſt of the ships under his command, succeeded in cutting off the galleys from the port. One of them being forced on shore near Tajura, was set on fire by the Turks themselves; the two others, flying to the eaſtward, were driven on shore by the *Newcaſtle*. The boats having been twice repelled by the Moorish soldiers, who put off from the shore to defend them, Sir John Narborough went in person in his barge to encourage his people on the third attack, which was successful. The Dey, intimidated by an attack so undaunted, and which presaged but little security to any of his vessels in a similar situation, began now to make serious overtures for peace. On the 14th of January following, a ſtill more formidable and decisive attack was made on the Tripoline shipping, by the boats of the squadron under the command of Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

This exploit, seconded by the deſtruction and capture of some other vessels and ſtores, made the Tripolines ſtill more earneſt in their application for peace. They perſiſted as yet, however, in refusing to make such satisfaction as Sir John deemed necessary for the injury that had actually been committed by their Corsairs; and Sir John was equally peremptory in reſiſting all overtures of peace to which this indemnification was not a preliminary and indispensable article. In the month of February following, Sir John, who had removed his flag into the *Hampshire*, being on a cruise to the eaſtward of Tripoly, with only one frigate in company, fell in with four of the principal ships of war, which, after the loss the Tripolines had suſtained, were now left them. An action immediately commenced; and after some hours' continuance, with the greateſt spirit on both sides, the Corsairs, having had near six hundred of their people killed and wounded, fled, with all the sail they could carry, for Tripoly, which they were fortunate enough to reach. These accumulated and repeated defeats and losses at length disposed the Dey to liſten to Sir John's demands; so that a treaty of peace was concluded between them on the 5th

[1] This affair is noticed by the Chaplain, in his *Diary*, p. 67.

of March, by which the Tripoline Government agreed to release all the English captives in their possession, to pay fourscore thousand dollars, as a reparation for the violence they had committed, and to grant to the English many other honourable and valuable privileges, which no other nation had ever before possessed or obtained. This disagreeable contest being thus successfully terminated, Sir John was preparing to return to Europe, when an accident happened which compelled his longer continuance on the station.

The people, irritated at the conduct of the Dey, who was charged as having been the cause of the late war, and what they called an ignominious peace, they compelled him to owe his life to a very expeditious flight; and Sir John, well knowing the treacherous disposition of his new-made friends, thought it prudent to get the treaty ratified by the new Dey and the rest of the officers composing their Government. This step was effected without difficulty through the terror of an impending cannonade, and with an additional Article, highly flattering to the consequence of the English, and which appeared to promise a longer continuance of peace than they had for some time past experienced.

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